

ENVER HOXHA

The 5th Classic of Marxism-Leninism

On the Foundations and concerning Questions of

Hoxhaism

[IN 2 PARTS]

arranged and written by Wolfgang Eggers

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Snippets of text from the works and speeches of comrade Enver Hoxha,
and from the book *"Enver Hoxha - His Life and His Work"*

[published by the Institute of Marxist-Leninist Studies at the CC of the Party of Labour of Albania
in 1985].

[some pictures from enverhoxha.ru and enver-hoxha.net]

PART 1

ENVER HOXHA

The 5th Classic of Marxism-Leninism



ENVER HOXHA:

«Let us guard what we have achieved as the apple of our eye, let us go on consistently to develop it further, to leave the coming generations an Albania ever stronger, always red, like the undying flame of the hearts and ideals of communists and partisans, an Albania which will live and progress through the centuries. I am convinced that the people and the Party will raise our triumphant flag higher and higher, will raise the honour, prestige and name of socialist Albania higher and higher in the world,»

„My beloved town, where I was born, I am grateful to you for ever, because you raised me, you taught me, and you gave me strength to perform my duties to the Homeland and to fight for the victory of those who were oppressed, of those who suffered from poverty and hunger“

(Enver Hoxha)

"As long as I have the strength to stand on my feet, I will not stop to write for my people and for my true friends, so that they can bring our people's struggle for freedom, independence and socialism to mind"

(Enver Hoxha - Interview with the French-Albanian-Friendship Association)



House where Enver Hoxha was born

Childhood and Youth

Enver Hoxha was born on October 16, 1908, in a patriotic Gjirokastra family. His mother, Gjylo, was an unpretentious woman of the people. His father, Halil, who before and during the First World War had known the sufferings of the economic emigrant, with the small income of a minor clerk, coped with the needs of his family and the cost of raising and educating five children, with difficulty.

The Parents



Gjyle and Halil Hoxha

Enver Hoxha spent his childhood and early youth in the town of his birth, in an environment closely linked with the struggle for national liberation and the progress of Albania.



On November 28, 1912 the ceaseless struggles for freedom against the Ottoman occupation were crowned with the proclamation of the independence of Albania at the Assembly of Vlora. Enver Hoxha's uncle, Hysen Hoxha, a well-known patriot with authority, chairman of a number of patriotic and cultural associations in the town and initiator of the first Albanian school in Gjirokastra, took part in this great event as a delegate of Gjirokastra. Hysen Hoxha played an appreciable role in the civic and patriotic education of Enver Hoxha, especially during the absence of his father, when the latter was in economic emigration in the USA.

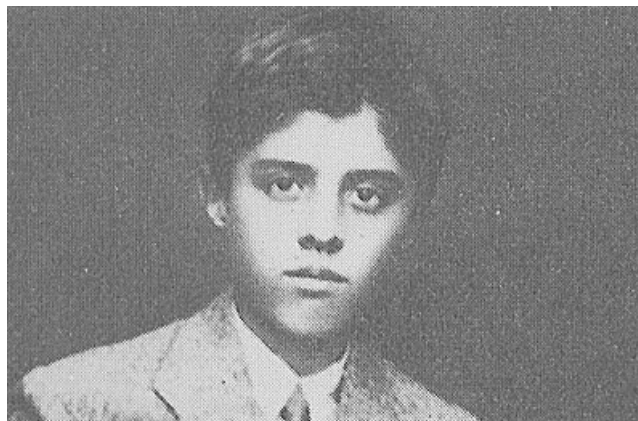
In March 1913, only three and a half months after the proclamation of independence, Gjirokastra and the surrounding zones were occupied by the Greek chauvinists who were replaced three years later by the Italian imperialists. Enver Hoxha was to spend his childhood under this occupation regime (1913-1919), amidst the permanent popular resistance which was crowned with the war of Vlora in 1920, with the liberation of the territories occupied by the foreigners. Beginning from this period, amidst dramatic events and struggles for freedom and for the preservation of the territorial integrity of the country, the young Enver Hoxha was imbued with great love for the Homeland, for its freedom and independence.



In the years 1917-1923 Enver Hoxha attended lessons at the public school „Drita“, which was opened through the efforts of Gjirokastra patriots in the grave conditions of the Italian occupation. Together the young Enver Hoxha became acquainted with the great events of the democratic movement of 1920-1924, which left indelible impressions on him.

After leaving the public school „Drita“ (1917-1923), Enver Hoxha continued his studies at the French Lycée newly opened in Gjirokastra (1923-1927). At this period, a zealous pupil, thirsting for knowledge and culture, he was formed also as a revolutionary democratic youth. An admirer of Avni Rustemi, a sympathizer of the progressive „Bashkimi“ Association and the Bourgeois-Democratic Revolution of June 1924, Enver Hoxha, after the counter-revolutionary change and the advent to power of A. Zog (December 1924), was to align himself with the forces of opposition to the regime of mediaeval obscurantism which prevailed in Albania.

„... for days on end we read in French ... what had occurred in Russia. A new world began to dawn in my young brain. It was the first spark of a great fire which enlightened me in the home of a poor proletarian --- It must have been the year 1926“ (Enver Hoxha)



The 16-year old Enver Hoxha was one of the initiators and secretary of the „Student“ Association in Gjirokastra which was formed at the beginning of July 1924. With its cultural-artistic activities, this association evoked love for the Homeland, freedom and democracy. When, after the establishment of the Zogite domination, reactionary elements demanded the closing of the „Student“ Club, Enver Hoxha was at the head of the revolt of the progressive pupils. In 1926, Enver Hoxha, who had learned about and been enthused by the French Revolution of the 18th century while he was at school, came in contact for the first time with the ideas of the October Socialist Revolution which had penetrated into Albania some years before. These ideas, which represented a new world, a new ideology, communism, were implanted more deeply in the mind of Enver Hoxha during the period when he continued and completed his secondary studies in Korça (1927-1930).



„When I was granted a bursary to go to Korça, my joy was great, indescribable ... A new page of my life was being opened, with great hopes, with fine dreams, with thoughts and a greater sense of responsibility about my duties as a young man towards my family and the Homeland!“ (Enver Hoxha).

His attending lessons at the French Lycée of Korça played an important role in the education of the young Enver Hoxha with progressive and revolutionary ideas. The works of the men of the National Renaissance and of democratic and progressive foreign literature with which he became acquainted there, imbued him more deeply with love for the Albanian language, for the cultural wealth of the Homeland, and for the great, progressive and revolutionary world culture. For Enver Hoxha and other sons of the people who were pupils of the Lycée the history of French revolutions was a great lessons which increased their hatred and prepared them for a struggle against the feudal regime of Zog.

„The Lycée of Korça was a progressive and revolutionary centre ... With what we learned and read there we were armed against the feudal regime...“ (Enver Hoxha).

Enver Hoxha` memories of his childhood were written in his manuscripts. They were published in a book, titled „The years of childhood“. This book was continued by „The years of youth“, which he wrote during the 70ies. On his 80th birthday Enver Hoxha`s book was published in 1988. The book was adapted to the screen by the film studio „New Albania“.





In the Communist Movement

For the Albania of the time, Korça in the years 1927-1930 was a big urban centre with a relatively developed working class, and one of the most revolutionary Elements of it had embraced the ideas of communism and had formed the nucleus of the future „Puna“ communist group (the Communist Group of Korça) in 1927. In this town, the revolutionary democrat Enver Hoxha felt himself close to the courageous and progressive workers of Korça and linked himself for the first time with the Albanian communist movement. The Manifesto of the Communist Party, which the communist worker Koci Bako gave him, accompanied with the instruction: „*Read it, translate it, keep it hidden and return it to me,*“ works of other Classics of Marxism-Leninism and the Albanian communists gave Enver Hoxha that orientation which was to become the greatest and only purpose of his life.

In the summer of 1930 Enver Hoxha completed his studies at the Lycée of Korça with excellent results. After great efforts, in October 1930 he was granted a bursary to continue his studies in the Faculty of Natural Sciences at the University of Montpellier in France. Being unable to persue his higher studies in the social sciences as he desired, because he lacked the money. Enver Hoxha enrolled in the faculty for which he was granted the bursary.

Enver Hoxha enrolled and commenced his studies in the Faculty of Natural Sciences, but the social sciences remained his passion. During his years of study at Montpellier he devoted a great deal of time to the study of literary, historical and philosophical works, and especially to the study of Marxist-Leninist literature, and attended lectures and conferences in the worker`s clubs run by the CP of France.



Enver Hoxha - participating in communist activities in Paris

During the years of his schooling Enver Hoxha spent the summer holidays in his birthplace. He stayed with his parents, sisters, relations and the friends that he loved and valued so much. In his companions he valued honesty, intelligence, the will to learn and, above all, devotion to serve the Homeland. In November 1933 the Zogite government cut off Enver Hoxha's bursary. After unsuccessful efforts to find some job so that he could continue his studies, Enver Hoxha left Montpellier and went to Paris in the hope of finding work in order to continue studying there, in the Faculty of Law.

In the capital of France, in the Paris of the communards, Enver Hoxha became acquainted with French communists, entered into the circles of Parisian workers and took part in the rallies organized by the CP of France. In the clubs for Marxist education run by the CP of France in the worker's quarters, he studied extracts from and commentaries on Karl Marx' major work, Capital, and Engels' work, Anti-Dühring.

Through his own efforts and with the assistance of some Albanian friends, in 1934 Enver Hoxha was appointed as a clerk in the Albanian consulate in Belgium. In Brussels he enrolled and attended studies in the Faculty of Law of the Free University of Belgium and pursued his studies of Marxism-Leninism further. The ideas of this theory, considered in the light of the situation in Albania and the movement on the proletariat, especially the French proletariat, played a special role in imbuing Enver Hoxha with the revolutionary world outlook and spirit of a resolute communist. For his revolutionary activity, which came to the notice of the agents of Zog, in 1936 he was dismissed from his position on the grounds that he had turned the consulate into an arsenal of Marxist literature.

During the years of his studies and work in France and Belgium, on his journeys to and from the Homeland, Enver Hoxha had frequently stopped in the city of Bari in Italy. In that city he was given the possibility to mix with the anti-Zogite emigres who had left Albania after the defeat of the Bourgeois-Democratic Revolution of 1924 and to gain first-hand knowledge of their moral and political situation. This knowledge served Enver Hoxha later, during the efforts of the CP of Albania to rally the various groups of the nationalists and involve in the war against the Italian occupiers.

Left without work and the means to complete his university studies, Enver Hoxha returned permanently to Albania in the summer of 1936. A few days after returning to his birthplace, now imbued with the communist world outlook, he took a pledge on behalf of the youth of Albania at the grave of the outstanding patriot, Bajo Topulli. Two months later, he took part in a lofty and significant mission: the exhumation from the Plain of Shtoi of the remains of Çerçiz Topulli and Muço Qulli to return them to their birthplace, and in a brief address to the people of Shkodra he expressed his admiration for the patriots of the Albanian national movement.



**Enver Hoxha. Speaking to the people of Shkodra
1936**

After his return to the Homeland, Enver Hoxha's first concern was to re-establish contact with the Albanian communist movement. In July 1936 in Gjirokastra he was introduced to the outstanding communist militant, Ali Kelmendi, who had played an important role in the extension of the communist movement in Albania on sound lines. Before the Zogite government expelled Ali Kelmendi from the Homeland, Enver Hoxha met him several times and discussed the problems of the development of the communist and worker's movement with him. The Zogite authorities, who regarded him with suspicion, left Enver Hoxha unemployed for month on end after his return to Albania. After great efforts, he was appointed as a part-time teacher at the boy's secondary school on Tirana, but was paid only for the hours which he was actually teaching. In April 1937 he was appointed a part-time teacher at the Lycée of Korça.



Enver Hoxha - winter 1937/1938

In Korça Enver Hoxha mixed with the workers and immediately reestablished his contacts, now in an organized way, with the communist group. Through his close contacts with the communist militants, Miha Lako, Pilo Peristeri and others, and with his theoretical horizon and practical activity, he quickly became one of the most active members of the Communist Group of Korça and the communist movement of Albania. Charged by the Communist Group of Korça to work especially with the pupils and teachers, the communist teacher, Enver Hoxha, with this propagating of democratic and communist ideas, his fiery words in defence of the rights of the people, won the sympathy of students, teachers and progressive intellectuals and became one of the main organizers of the out-of-school organization „Korça Youth“.



Enver Hoxha in the year 1939

A Very serious danger, the prelude to the greatest tragedy of the Albanian people, threatened Albania. Fascist Italy, which through many concessions and enslaving political treaties had transformed Albania into a semi-colony, began preparations for its military occupation. In the face of this danger, a logical consequence of the anti-national policy of the regime, King Zog, the landowners and the big Albanian bourgeoisie sold out to Italian capital, did not undertake any steps to organize armed resistance to the fascist aggression. The communists were the only organized force determined to and capable of arousing the people to fight in defence of the freedom and independence of the Homeland. Enver Hoxha distinguished himself amongst the members of the Communist Group of Korça for his denunciation among the people, especially among the school youth, of the aims of fascism and for his urging the necessity for the creation of a broad anti-fascist movement. In the first days of April 1939 the plans of Italian fascism for the occupation of Albania became publicly known. Powerful demonstrations, organized and led by the communists, burst out all over the country. On the initiative of members of the communist groups and patriots, centres for the recruitment of volunteers to fight against the fascist aggression were opened in Tirana and other towns. At the meeting organized in the Town Hall of Korça, Enver Hoxha called for the mobilization and arming of the people who were aroused and ready to fight to defend their freedom and independence with their blood, and for the condemnation of the capitulationist and traitor King. In April 7, 1939, Italian fascism launched its aggression against Albania. Betrayed and left without weapons by the King and the government, unorganized and without any aid or support from abroad, the Albanian people used against the enemy „that language which Europe had forgotten“, but were unable to prevent the aggression and occupation of the country.

The bloody and heroic resistance of Albanian patriots, who met the aggressors with bullets at all the ports of Albania and elsewhere, was crushed by the fascist hordes armed to the teeth. Albania was occupied.

The fascist occupation created an atmosphere of terror and insecurity throughout the whole country and put the very existence of the Albanian people and nation in jeopardy. Fully aware of the historic importance of the moment, Enver Hoxha was amongst the first who was able to see beyond the fascist gloom to the days of freedom and the future.

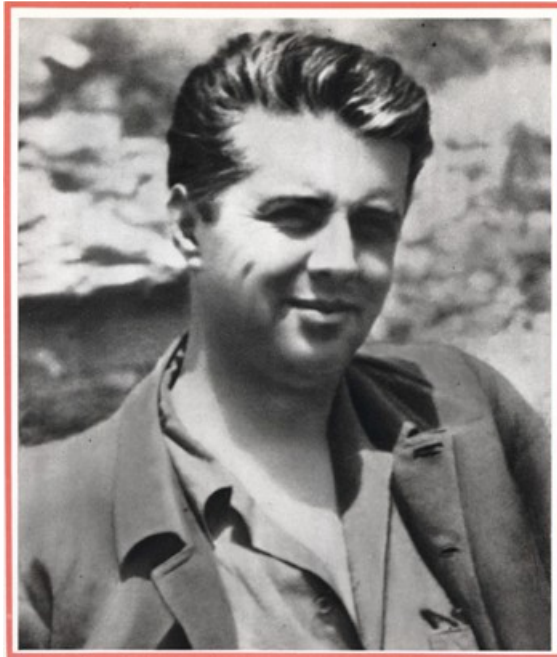
Conscious of the responsibilities and duties of a revolutionary communist, from the first days of the fascist occupation he became a fiery agitator for the idea of the liberation war among the ranks of the school youth. For his revolutionary activity and resolute, open, anti-fascist stand, after coming out at the head of the demonstration of November 28, 1939, Enver Hoxha was dismissed from his job and banned from re-employment as a teacher.

By decision of the centre of the Communist Group of Korça, at the beginning of 1940, Enver Hoxha came to Tirana and immediately threw himself into revolutionary activity to unite the communist groups and create the conditions for the formation of the CPA. Convinced about the mistaken character of the course pursued by the chiefs for the unification of the communist groups through agreement between themselves, Enver Hoxha was the first to understand that the formation of the party would be achieved through activity from below, through unification to the base of the communist groups. Under the disguise of trade, he set to work energetically to accomplish this vital task for the fate of the people and the Homeland and very quickly transformed the shop „Flora“ in Tirana into the main centre of the communist movement in Albania.

In struggle with the spirit of factionalism and sectarianism, Enver Hoxha gave an impulse to the work of smoothing out disagreements, of finding a common language and of collaboration between members of different groups to carry out revolutionary actions. By establishing sound links with militant communists from other groups which operated in Tirana, amongst whom Qemal Stafa and Vasil Shanto were outstanding, Enver Hoxha worked and struggled for the formation of the Communist Party of Albania.

Continuing his efforts to unite the communist groups and form the party, during 1940 and early in 1941, Enver Hoxha went to Shkodra, Durrës, Fier, Kuçova and Gjirokastra, where he met and talked with communists of different groups and a major victory on the road of uniting the communists in a single party, was the great anti-fascist demonstration which took place in Tirana on October 28, 1941. Enver Hoxha was the main organizer of this demonstration. Being in the first line of the demonstrators, he came to the own cool-headedness and intelligence. From those moments to the eve of the liberation of Albania, all his activity was carried out in illegality. The fascists ordered Enver Hoxha's arrest for participation in the demonstration.

1941



Founder of the Communist Party of Albania
November 8, 1941





The house where the party was founded
on November 8, 1941



1941



Enver Hoxha and some members of the founding of the PLA



Dedicated to the first party cell.



Enver Hoxha in November 1941



Photo - during his illegality - 1941

The book *"When the Party was born"* was published in 1981 on occasion of the 40th Anniversary of the foundation of the Party. Comrade Enver Hoxha described his memories about the period of the Party's foundation. It is a sharp weapon and has a significant importance not only in historical regard but primarily in regard of the political, ideological, organizational and military path of the party towards the successful construction of socialism in Albania. It was not this or that founder and leader of a communist party, but the 5th Classic of Marxism-Leninism who had founded the CPA (PLA). Studying this book is studying a great treasure of Marxism-Leninism.

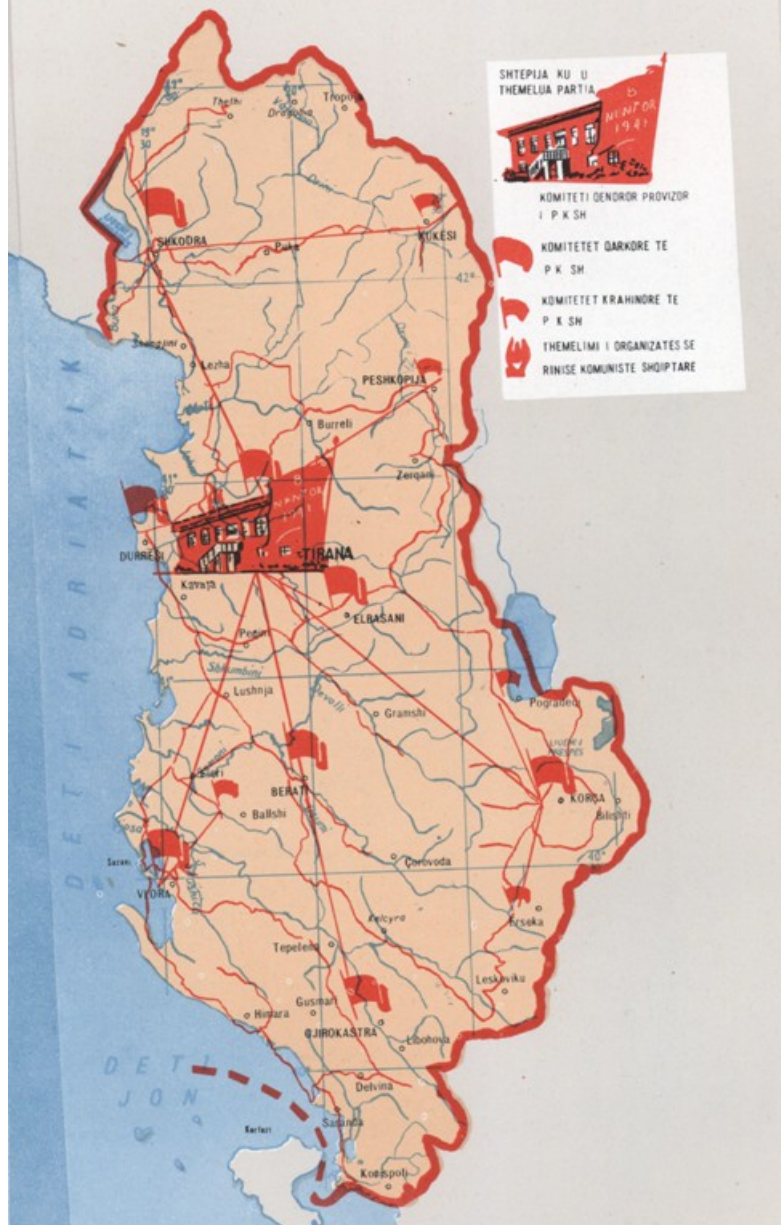
Comrade Enver Hoxha was the first speaker on the meeting of the three communist groups who formed the CPA. He said:

"We of the Korça group are convinced also that you, too, have come here not so that we will quarrel like enemies, but in order to discuss matters fiercely if need be, but as communists. Above all it is the principles which will guide our work which have and must have priority for us. These principles must be unsullied, always according to the precepts of our great teachers Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin. In order to put an end to this group spirit, first of all we must decide to dissolve the groups and form the Communist Party of Albania. Are we or are we not Albanian communists? Do we or do we not want to form and have our own Communist Party, which will lead our people in the fight and accomplish the minimum and maximum program which we will define? Let us, first, answer these main questions and, if we are communists, let us discuss matters as such, with a sense of responsibility, with clear minds and open hearts. Let us form the Communist Party of Albania on the basis of the mandates which the comrades of the groups gave us before we came to this meeting and, after first deciding solemnly and unanimously to found the Communist Party of Albania, let us continue the debate and discussion.«The party which we shall found will give correct solutions to all the problems and questions we shall discuss. This time we communists will think, discuss, decide and act with a new spirit, with another style and method, because from now on we and all our comrades will have our Communist Party. That is all I had to say at the start, comrades", I said and sat down.

(Enver Hoxha: "[«WHEN THE PARTY WAS BORN»](#)" - Tirana 1983, excerpts published in Volume 6, selected works, page 205 - 283)

In the Meeting of the Main Communist Groups of Albania on November 8, 1941, Enver Hoxha, with the ideological, political and organizational platform which he presented and defended, with the principled struggle which he led against liquidationist theses, supported also by other participants in the Meeting, placed the newly-formed Party on sound Marxist-Leninist foundations. Elected by the Founding Meeting a member of the Provisional Central Committee of the Party and charged with the task of leading its work, Enver Hoxha immediately placed himself in the forefront of the work and efforts to organize the CPA and to link it with the masses. „**The Resolution of the Meeting of the Main Communist Groups of Albania**“ (the first programmatic document of the CPA) and „**The First Appeal of the CC of the CPA Addressed to the Albanian People After the Founding of the Party**“, written by Enver Hoxha in November 1941, echoed like a powerful call to battle for the communists and the whole people. [[The Resolution of the Meeting of the Main Communist Groups of Albania on the Creation of the Party \(November 1941\)](#)]

THEMELIMI DHE ORGANIZIMI I P K TE SHQIPERISE (8.XI.1941)



Map of battle-fields of the party in 1941

In the conditions of the most ferocious terror and condemned to death in absentia by the courts of fascism, Enver Hoxha devoted all his mental and physical energies to carrying out the tasks with which the Party had charged him. In November 23, 1941, on behalf of the CC of the CPA, he attended and chaired the meeting for the founding of the organization of the Communist Youth of Albania. The last Consultative Meeting of Activists of the CPA (April 1942), the Special Conference of the Party (June 1942), and a number of other meetings and organizations and forums of the Party were conducted successfully in Tirana on his initiative and under his leadership. The analysis and decisions of these meetings and the intensive revolutionary activity of Enver Hoxha for their application had vital importance for the ideological, political and organizational strengthening of the Party and gave a new impulse to its work.



Enver Hoxha with the Partisans

On August 25, 1942 the first edition of the newspaper „*Zëri i popullit*“ was published.

Enver Hoxha, author of the first leaflets which the communists distributed before the founding of the CPA, became the initiator and leader of *Zëri i popullit*, the organ of the CC of the Communist Party of Albania, which was published by decision of the Central Committee. The leading article of the first issue and all the other articles written by Enver Hoxha in this newspaper and other organs of the press during the period of the Antifascist National Liberation War, propagated the political line of the Party and the anti-fascist war of the Albanian people, showed the ways to national liberation and forcibly denounced the occupiers and the traitors. Enver Hoxha's articles are models of the new publicity and political literature which emerged in Albania in the period of the liberation war.

„**In our Party**“, comrade Enver Hoxha said in his report to the First Council of the Activ of the CPA in April, 1942, „**the working class must have the majority... Nobody else can lead communism, work and struggle for communism with all their hearts, then the proletarians do, the workers do.**“

Unlike the other parties, our Communist Party, which later was called the Party of Labour, was formed in different circumstances, in the conditions of the National Liberation War. It was formed on virgin ground, on which no other bourgeois or peasant parties existed. Our Party was formed with the Marxist-Leninist ideology at its foundations. It hurled itself into the war as a new and small Party, but determined to liberate its own country from the fascist occupiers and to create the state of the people's democracy.

The norms which were established and applied with great strictness in our Party were Leninist norms. We proceeded in the example of the Bolshevik Party of Lenin and Stalin, followed on its road and, thus, we gradually climbed the difficult steps of the war. From the beginning we set about working to create the organization of the Front, which we formed not as a party, but as a broad political organization, with the participation of all the anti-fascists, with whom we worked in order to imbue them with the ideology of our Party, with the Marxist-Leninist ideology, with the revolutionary, liberation ideology.

During the war we saw the creation of the organization of the Balli Kombëtar which represented the scum and reprobates of Albania, the stratum of beys, the mercantile bourgeoisie, the traitors and Quislings. It was made up of elements who would have formed their own bourgeois party even before, but could not because the regime of Zog and later the fascist occupation of the country did not allow them to do so.

Our Party disseminated its line among the masses through the organization of the National Liberation Front. The masses of the people who were eager to fight the occupier felt that the organization of the Front was really their own organization, they saw their desires and aspirations embodied in the program of the Party and in the line of the Front.

From the beginning, after the Liberation of the country, our Party was faced with the great danger of Yugoslav revisionism — a savage and threatening enemy — which was bent on undermining the correct Marxist-Leninist line of our Party, and worked through the secret agency headed by Koçi Xoxe to liquidate the Party and thus realize the union of Albania with Yugoslavia. That was an extremely imminent threat, but the Party was able to avert it with success.

Our Party fought against a number of deviationists who were secret a-gents in the pay-roll of the Yugoslav revisionists secret agents of Quislings and, as it turned out later, also secret agents of the Soviet revisionists. Their support in the Party was weak and so our Party, which was formed and tempered in battles, with its clear Marxist-Leninist ideology, liquidated these elements and groups and, as we know, carried on its work for the construction of socialism. Never for a moment has our Party weakened the class struggle. It has waged this struggle with great maturity in all sectors of our activity. The culprits have been condemned and the secret enemies exposed, while those who were misled were clarified, and obstacles were surmounted one after the other. This is how we built the socialist economic base, industry, agriculture and the socialist culture.

From what I said hitherto, it emerges quite clearly that the process of the formation, growth, consolidation and tempering of our Party is quite different from the process of the formation of the former communist parties in the East and the West, which now have become revisionist parties.

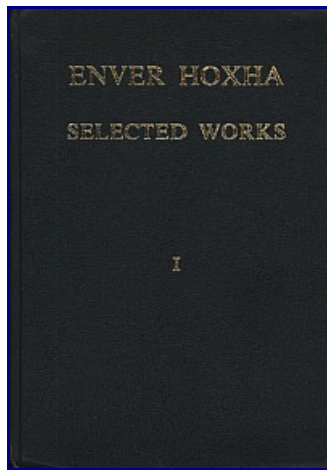
The strength and the unity of our Party must be preserved and enhanced continuously. The strengthening and tempering of our Party and our line in the stages of the development of the socialist society should be carried out always on the basis of the principles of Marxism-Leninism, and on the basis of the correct interpretation of this universal science of the proletariat. Our theory should never come into opposition with the situations that might be created, but the theory and the line of our Party should be able to forecast and help us to create a progressive situation within the country. That is the reason why it is necessary that the line of our Party should always remain pure, the Party should always be resolved, alert, vigilant, attached to the people, should lead the masses and should set the example in work, without fearing sacrifices.

“THE PLA WAS FORMED IN CIRCUMSTANCES DIFFERENT FROM THOSE OF THE OTHER COMMUNIST PARTIES” - Thursday, January 26, 1978



ENVER HOXHA

In the Years of the National Liberation War



"Selected Works"

Volume I

(1941-1948)

The report delivered by Enver Hoxha at the 1st National Conference of the CPA, on the organizational problems of the Party, closely linked with the organization of the general uprising and his vigorous activity after the Conference to define and apply concrete measures for the organization of the National Liberation Army, gave an impulse to the general armed uprising of the Albanian people.



The conference room of the first National Conference of the CPA, April-May 1943

In the Months of May – June 1943 Enver Hoxha, in collaboration with Hysni Kapo and other comrades of the Regional Committee of Vlora, led the work in Vlora and Mallakastër to smash a dangerous anti-Party faction. During his activity to smash the faction, as well as during meetings and talks with leading comrades of the Party, communists, commanders of çetas and battalions, with partisans and patriots in the zones of Skrapar and Gora-Opar of Korça and Mokra, he saw the situation at first hand and made a major contribution to strengthening the organizations of the Party and various partisan detachments in those zones.

On July 10, 1943, applying the decisions of the 1st National Conference of the CPA, on the proposal of Enver Hoxha, the General National Liberation Council decided unanimously on the formation of the General Staff of the National Liberation Army. Enver Hoxha, General Secretary of the CPA, was appointed Political Commissar of the General Staff.

The I. Brigade, which was founded August 15, 1943, had

„indeed the appearance of a regular army. This is a meaningful day in the history of our movement. This example has to be followed by all the other regions“ (Enver Hoxha, Letter to the District Committee of Vlora, August 17, 1943).

In carrying out the fundamental task of the newly-created Party for the political unification of the people in the war against the occupier, Enver Hoxha established close links with the common people in town and village, with patriotic intellectuals and nationalists, and others, and on his insistence and following his example, the communists intensified their activity in town and countryside. Combating the attempts of pseudo-patriots and anti-Marxist concepts, he advocated the possibility of the political unification of the people from below and the necessity of the Front's being led by the Communist Party of Albania. Through his daily work the masses and his elaboration of the political and organizational platform, Enver Hoxha made a direct contribution to the preparation, organization and the direction of the Conference which met on September 16, 1942, in Peza, at which the political foundations of the National Liberation Front of the Albanian people were laid.



Hall where the conference of PEZA was held

September 16, 1942

The Conference of Peza adopted the platform of the CPA against fascist occupiers and traitors and for the free, independent, and democratic Albania:

(unification of all true Albanians, organizing National Liberation Councils as organs of the people's power, preparation of the people's revolution as the result of the partisan war).

Right from its founding, the CPA, guided by the Marxist-Leninist thinking of Enver Hoxha, linked the struggle for driving out the occupiers with the establishment of the people's democratic regime in liberated Albania. The Conference of Peza, which laid the foundation of the people's state power in Albania, accepted the theses presented by Enver Hoxha in the report, The National Liberation Councils as organs of the Unity and Struggle of the Albanian People, as the basis for the setting up of national liberation councils.

The Albanian people welcomed with enthusiasm the historic decisions of the Conference of Peza and Enver Hoxha's call for unity in the fight against the occupiers. The ranks of the National Liberation Front were increased; the alliance of the working class with the peasantry, which constituted the broadest basis of the Front, was strengthened. The number of national liberation councils, which were set up directly by the masses of the people under the leadership of the Party, increased rapidly, both in the liberated zones and in the non-liberated zones. The uniting of the people in the National Front, the setting up of councils, the strengthening and extension of the armed struggle, and the rise in the patriotic consciousness of the people placed the organization of the general people's uprising on the order of the day.

In December 1942, Enver Hoxha left Tirana for the highlands of Elbasan where the main bases of the leading organs of the Party and the war were located until December 1943. During this period, he devoted special attention to the organization and expansion of the armed struggle which, from the outset, was orientated by the Party as a partisan struggle with a profoundly popular and revolutionary content. At the head of the Party, he worked out the political line of the National Liberation War, in conformity with the development of the situation and guided its application step by step. The meeting of the Provisional Central Committee, which was held under the chairmanship of Enver Hoxha in the village of Qafe Shmil of Elbasan at the end of December 1942, preceeded the 1st National Conference of the CPA which was to place the organization of the general people's uprising on the agenda.



Enver Hoxha and the Foundation of the National Liberation Army.

Under the leadership of Enver Hoxha, in the spring of 1943, the 1st National Conference of the Communist Party of Albania was prepared and held in Labinot near Elbasan (17 – 22 March 1943). For the problems which it analyzed, for its more profound and extensive elaboration of the general line of the Party and for the historic decisions that it took, the 1st National Conference had the significance of a party congress. The Conference elected the Standing Central Committee and the Political Bureau, and appointed Enver Hoxha as the General Secretary of the CPA.



July 1943

On the initiative of the CC of the CPA and Enver Hoxha personally, and by decision of the general National Liberation Council, the 2nd National Liberation Conference was held in Labinot from September 4 – 9, 1943. On the basis of the report delivered by Enver Hoxha, the Conference endorsed the conclusions of the Central Committee of the CPA and proclaimed the national liberation councils as the only state power of the people in Albania. With this decisions the 2nd National Liberation Conference, which firmly condemned the treacherous compromise on the sharing of power with Balli Kombëtar, struck a heavy blow at the efforts of reaction to seize state power and affirmed a great historic reality:

the birth of the people`s state power in the fire of the war.

In September 9, 1943, fascist Italy capitulated, but the German army took the place of its army of occupation in Albania. On the same day, Enver Hoxha, on behalf of the Central Committee, prepared the directives of the committees of the CPA in the regions in connection with the situation created after the capitulation of Italy and for the war against the new occupier. The following day, September 10, Enver Hoxha signed the call of the general National Liberation Council and the General Staff, addressed to the people, to give a greater impulse to the general uprising for the complete liberation of Albania and for the seizure of power.

The leader of the CPA and the Political Commisar of the General Staff exerted all his abilities and talent for the creation, growth and strengthening of the National Liberation Army. Enver Hoxha, personally, carefully followed the work for the organization of large formations of the army and to ensure that they were equipped with armaments and supplied with military and political cadres. He took part directly in the setting up and organization of the first big formations of the National Liberation Army, the 1st , 2nd and 3rd Shock Brigades.



Enver Hoxha`s cool-headedness, courage, Marxist-Leninist maturity, firm reliance on the people and unshakeable confidence in victory stood out strongly during the months of the enemy`s biggest and most ferocious offensive, that of the winter of 1943 – 1944. Surrounded, together with part of the General Staff, by large German-Ballist forces, in the conditions of the exceptionally severe winter in the rugged mountainous terrain of the zones of Çermenika, Shëngjergi and Martanesh, Enver Hoxha maintained contact with the Party and the army, guided them in the use of skillful tactics suitable to the difficult concrete circumstances, dealt sternly with any manifestation of disorganization, panic or spirit of defeatism, and struggled to maintain and further enhance the fighting spirit and confidence in victory.

„Our War tactics, respectively the Guerilla (partisan war), will be kept up unchangeably“ (Enver Hoxha, Letter to the District Committee of Vlora, November 22, 1943).

With the all-round daily assistance of the common people, with the revolutionary optimism and determination which characterized him, Enver Hoxha and the other members of the General Staff surmounted all the difficulties and, after almost three months, broke out of the encirclement and passed into the region of Korça. The resistance to and breaking out of the encirclement is a brilliant example of the close links of the Communist Party and Enver Hoxha with the people, of the people`s love for the Party, of the harmonization of the wisdom of the leader with the generosity and ardent patriotism of the common people.



The enemy offensive of the winter of 1943 – 1944 failed and, on the order of Enver Hoxha, the National Liberation Army went over to the strategic, counter-offensive and was liberating whole regions of the country, one after the other. Appreciating that, in the existing circumstances, the complete liberation of Albania was immanent, in April 1944 Enver Hoxha, on behalf of the leadership of the CPA, presented to the Standing Committee of the General National Liberation Council the proposal for the calling of a congress which would give legal form to the state power of the national liberation councils and the creation of the new Albanian state with its democratic government and its own regular army. The 1st Anti-fascist National Liberation Congress, which founded the new Albanian state of the people's democracy, commended its proceedings on May 24, 1944, in the town of Përmet. The Congress, at which the entire Albanian people was represented, decided that no other government which might be formed inside or outside Albania would be recognized, that Zog would be banned from returning to Albania, that all the political and economic agreements formed by the regime of Zog with foreign states to the detriment of the interests of the people would be re-examined and annulled, and that the war against German occupiers and the Albanian traitors would be continued until they were established all over the country.



Speech of Enver Hoxha on the Conference of **Përmet**

„The Congress of Përmet, one of the most important events of our epic National Liberation War, a monument built by the war and wisdom of the Party and the people, a great deed of colossal importance for the future of Albania“ (Enver Hoxha).

As the Congress of Përmet, Enver Hoxha, General Secretary of the CPA, was elected a member of the Anti-fascist National Liberation Committee, which had the attributes of a provisional government, and Commander-in Chief of the Albanian National Liberation Army.

Enver Hoxha delivered the report at the Congress of Përmet. He was President of the Anti-fascist National Liberation Committee.

On May 28, 1944, the Commander-in Chief, Enver Hoxha, issued the order for the National Liberation Army to go over the general offensive for the complete liberation of Albania from the German occupation forces and the total defeat of *Balli Kombetar*, *Legaliteti* and all reactionary forces. On the same day, the next great offensive of the German troops, which is known as the June offensive, began. Under the leadership of Enver Hoxha, the National Liberation Army which now had tens of thousands of fighters in its rank, successfully withstood all the enemy's operations and emerged triumphant. The Hitlerite and traitor forces which took part in the enemy's June offensive were routed. Enver Hoxha, who directed the military activities of the ANLA for the defeat of the offensive, elaborated and guided the application of the strategic plan for the complete liberation of Albania.

In his defence of the interests of the people and the Homeland Enver Hoxha clashed directly with the pressure, interference and blackmail of the British and American military missions which, in disguised and open ways did everything in their power to sabotage the National Liberation War, to support the Ballist and Zogite reaction and to restore the old power in Albania. With his clear class sense, with the wisdom of a Marxist-Leninist politician and the courage of a revolutionary leader, Enver Hoxha understood the secret aims of the allied missions right from the start, made these aims clear to the whole Party, and exposed every attempt of the missions to sabotage the National Liberation War and prevent the people from taking power.



Enver Hoxha - organizer and leader of the NLA

1944

„When the Communist Party of Albania issued the clarion call to save our beloved Homeland from the clutches of fascism, the Albanian youth were the first to respond to this call, were the first to hurl themselves into the struggle, flocked into the guerilla units in the towns and the mountains, composed of the finest sons of our people, filled the ranks of the partisan battalions which were expanded into brigades and divisions and which, today, constitute our regular National Liberations Army“ (Enver Hoxha).

The Party did not wait and could not wait with the armed actions:

„The child, which was born November 8, 1941, in Tirana did not wait any single day, but it raised at once its iron fist and beat the traitors and the fascists pitilessly“ (Enver Hoxha, report on the 4th Congress of the PLA).

"When the Communist Party of Albania issued the clarion call to save our beloved Homeland from the clutches of fascism, the Albanian youth were the first to respond to this call, were the first to hurl themselves into struggle, flocked into the guerrilla units in the towns and the mountains, composed of the finest sons of our people, filled the ranks of the partisan battalions which were expanded into brigades and divisions and which, today, constitute our regular National Liberation Army."

Enver Hoxha



Enver Hoxha greeting the 1st Congress of the AYUA - 1944

In the summer of 1944 the Party decided that the 1st Congress of the organization of the Anti-fascist Youth Union of Albania (AYUA) should be called. Enver Hoxha's address to this Congress, which was held in Helmes of Skrapar from 8 -17 August 1944, became a great program of work for this organization.

In September 1944, the Commander-in-Chief issued the order for the 5th and 3rd Shock brigades of the Albanian National Liberation Army to move into Kosova to assist in its liberation from the German occupiers. Two months later, by decision of the CC of the CPA and on the order of Enver Hoxha, the 5th and 6th Divisions of the ANLA, immediately after the complete liberation of Albania, continued the pursuit of the Hitlerite troops into Yugoslavia, were together with detachments of the Yugoslav ANLA during the months of December 1944 and January-February 1945, they liberated Montenegro, Sandjak and the southern part of Bosnia. Enver Hoxha struggled together with Miladin Popovic, the internationalist communist. The people of Berat welcomed Enver Hoxha and the other leaders of the National Liberation War.

In mid-September 1944, when most of Albania had been liberated, the Standing Committee of the Anti-fascist National Liberation Council, meeting at Odriçan (the office of Enver Hoxha), endorsed Enver Hoxha's proposal about turning the Anti-fascist Committee into the Democratic Government and decided to call the 2nd Meeting of the Anti-fascist National Liberation Council for this purpose.

In October, Enver Hoxha, and other leaders of the National Liberation War entered the liberated town of Berat, where the 2nd Meeting of the Anti-fascist National Liberation Council was held from October 20 – 23.

"The historic decision... on transforming the Anti-fascist National Liberation Committee into the Democratic Government was a historically necessary step, a logical consequence of the war and the people's revolution under the leadership of the Party. With this decision, the taking of political power by the working masses who had overthrown the old power through struggle, became a reality de facto and de jure."

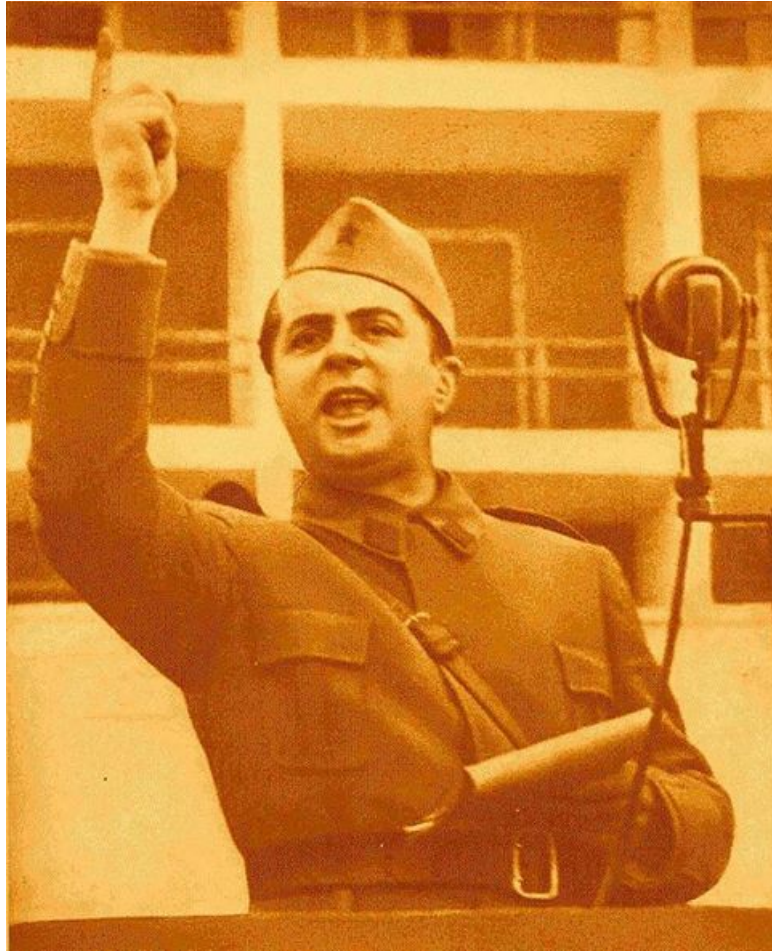
Enver Hoxha



**Enver Hoxha).Enver Hoxha - delivering the report at the 2nd Meeting of the
Anti-fascist Liberation Council - 1944**

In the report delivered at the 2nd Meeting of the Anti-fascist National Liberation Council, Enver Hoxha spoke about the activity of the Anti-fascist Committee from the time of its creation and proposed its transformation into the Democratic Government.

On October 22, 1944, the General National Liberation Council decided unanimously to transform the Anti-fascist National Liberation Committee into the Provisional Democratic Government of Albania. The Standing Committee of the Anti-fascist National Liberation Council charged Enver Hoxha with the task of head of the Democratic Government.



**Enver Hoxha speaking on the day of the liberation of Tirana,
November 17, 1944**

„We were returning to our beloved Tirana and, for the first time after so many years, we entered there not illegally, with false names and documents, but freely and, moreover, triumphant!“ r Hoxh

On the order of the Commander-in-Chief, Enver Hoxha, the 1st Army Corps began the battle for the liberation of the capital of Albania, Tirana.

After 19 days of bloody fighting, street by street and house by house, the battle for the liberation of Tirana was crowned with success. Two days before the complete liberation of the country, on November 27, 1944, the Democratic Government of Albania, headed by Enver Hoxha, set out from Berat for Tirana. After a journey of two days over war-damaged roads, the Democratic Government made its triumphant entry into liberated Tirana - with Enver Hoxha at the head.



ENVER-HOXHA

December 1944, the first year of freedom

On November 28, 1944, the 32nd anniversary of the Proclamation of the Independence of Albania, the people of the capital, who had cared for and protected the communists who founded the Party, who had known Enver Hoxha at the head of demonstrations and had sheltered the guerilla fighters, who had suffered on their backs the atrocities and destruction perpetrated by the occupiers and local traitors and had fought against them heroically, welcomed their own first Democratic Government with open arms.



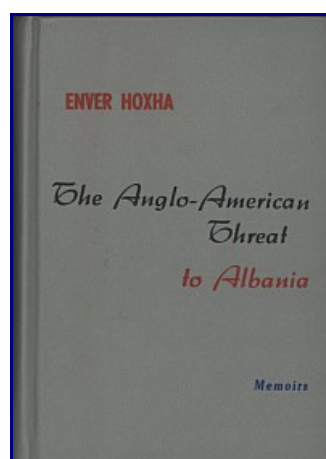
Enver Hoxha on 28th of November 1944

Independence Day of Albania

In his address on the occasion of Independence Day and the arrival of the Democratic Government in Tirana, Enver Hoxha, from the simple tribune in the boulevard of the capital, called on the Albanian people who, through struggle, had made themselves masters of their own fate, to close their ranks around the people's state power, around the Front and the Democratic Government, in order to safeguard the victories achieved and to attain the prospects which the seizure of power opened to them.



In the first years after Liberation from the nazi-fascist bondage and from the local traitors, it was a great joy for Enver Hoxha to see the first electric power plant, the first university, the first professional theatre, the first railroad, the promulgation of the first law on social insurances, the cvreation of the first agrucultural cooperative, etc. These were great victories for a people who emerged from the semi-feudal and semi-colonial state and set out on the road of material and spiritual progress.



In the beginning of the year 1982, the book of comrade Enver Hoxha *"The Anglo-American Threat To Albania"* was published. These written memories are an outstanding enrichment of the heroic National Liberation war and instructional source for defending Socialist Albania against the threats of the imperialist-revisionist encirclement. It is an appeal to call for highest vigilance in face of the complots and intrigues of the imperialists and modern revisionists. The book deals with the basic problems of the foreign policy and diplomatic activities of the National Liberation Movement.

The book reflects events he lived through, his personal impressions, and gives conclusions, which provide lessons for all periods, drawn from the hostile activity carried out openly or behind the scenes, against the National Liberation Movement, the Albanian people's revolution and socialist Albania by the Anglo-American bourgeoisie. It brings out clearly the clash between the diabolical plans, attempts, manoeuvres and concrete activities of Anglo-American imperialism to put Albania under its sway, on the one hand, and the vigilance, the blow for blow struggle of the Communist Party of Albania and its General Secretary, the leader of the Army and the National Liberation Front and the whole patriotic Albanian people, Comrade Enver Hoxha, on the other hand, to discover, unmask, defeat and destroy the imperialist strategy and tactics in regard to Albania. The anti-fascist coalition was an alliance of heterogeneous forces of two opposing social systems. The alliance was characterized by the antagonism between socialism and capitalism. On one side stood the anti-imperialist Soviet Union, which waged a war of defense and liberation. On the other side were England and the United States, which led the fight against fascism with the intention of imperialist, hegemonic expansion. The strategy of the Anglo-American imperialism in World War II pursued the goal of expanding its world domination by the incorporation of the imperialist sphere of influence of the Axis powers. While Stalin waged not only a war for the defense of the Soviet Union, but also turned to the forefront of the Liberation War of the subjugated peoples from Hitler's fascism, the Anglo-American imperialists sabotaged and subverted the anti-fascist struggle for liberation, with the aim of pushing back the international influence of communism. Their strategy was not freedom and peace, but to maintain the old relations of exploitation with sword and blood. The Anglo-American imperialists were just trying to displace the Italian and German imperialists from their ruling position and to force the liberated peoples to subjugate under the influence of Western imperialism. The Anglo-American imperialists strived for the exploitation and oppression of the peoples in general, and the Albanian people in particular. After the death of comrade Enver Hoxha, the Albanian revisionists trampled his lessons under foot, capitulated, sold the Socialist country to the Western imperialists and joined the NATO. These traitors stabbed in the back of the Liberation War of the Albanian people which was led to victory by comrade Enver Hoxha.

Great Britain has always regarded Albania as a token for barter in their countless deals with the other great powers to maintain the world hegemony of the «British Lion».

The Anglo-American imperialists, those savage and determined enemies of the Albanian people, have always used our country as a means of exchange in their international transactions.

We were participants in the great Anti-fascist Coalition, in the alliance between the Soviet Union, the United States of America and Great Britain. We had to consider this alliance useful and necessary, and support it for the destruction of the nazi beast, and therefore we explained its importance to the Party and the people. In our assessment of this alliance we had to be neither sectarian nor liberal, but while considering it fruitful in the context of the fight against nazism, it was necessary that we should never forget what the governments of the United States of America and Great Britain represented for our people, that we should never forget their savage nature as capitalists and colonialist oppressors, that we should never forget the countless wounds they had inflicted on the body of our Homeland. We had to put our trust in our Party, our people, our rifles, in the Soviet Union and Stalin. We had to fight to win our freedom with sacrifice and bloodshed, and we must never allow foreign enemies to gamble with the fate of our country and our people as in the past.

Churchill wanted the peoples and the communists to be weakened by the war and reaction to emerge from it strong, hence, the fig was to ripen and fall into the mouth of the British.

The resistance and armed struggle of our people against the fascist occupiers, which began on April 7, 1939, continued uninterruptedly and was further extended and strengthened, especially after the formation of the Communist Party of Albania on November 8, 1941. After this historic date, the fight of the Albanian people entered a new phase, in which it was fiercer, well organized and becoming devastating for the occupiers, quislings and traitors. This aroused concern in the bourgeois world.

When we started the war we did not have sufficient weapons, but our people sing a song: *'If you have no weapons, find them, from the hands of the enemy seize them.'* And this is what we have done all along. We seize the weapons from the hands of the Italians in action, we attack and capture them.

I explained under what disguise they had come, describing them as allies against the same enemy, but pointed out that their class nature, their aims opposed to our war, the Soviet Union, communism, must never be forgotten.

«Possibly,» I told them, «several such British missions will come with our permission to our different zones. A correct and vigilant stand must be maintained everywhere! In no instance,» I instructed, «must the British be permitted to poke their noses into our internal affairs. Tight security must be maintained on all matters relating to the Party, its organization, orders and directives, and none of them, whether pro-communist or not, should know when, where and why its meetings are held. For them we are all partisans. Military matters such as the organization of the partisan army, the number and composition of its units, its orders for actions, supplies, quantity and types of armament, all these and other data of an internal character must be kept secret. If they wish to be present at a battle take them along, but inform them at the last moment and never disclose to them in advance your operational plan for the fighting. Provide them without hesitation with any information that you have about the enemy occupier. Avoid allowing them to mix freely with the mass of the partisans so that they can indulge in loose talk, make promises or get up to dirty work. Urge them to drop us arms and demand this persistently.» In this way, I prepared the comrades to take care and be forearmed against any manoeuvres of the agents of the Intelligence Service who, without doubt, would eventually try to corrupt weak and wavering individuals.

«We know who the Anglo-Americans are,» I stressed in the letter, «and never for a moment forget that they are capitalists, that they are against communism and socialism; they do not forget who we are, but neither do we forget who they are. At present we are in alliance with them against Italian fascism and German nazism, and we shall remain loyal to this alliance. However, we have not allowed and never will allow them to interfere in the internal affairs of Albania.»

The policy of the British was clear to us. They were organizing reaction against us, trying to get reaction to declare war on us and to strike a mortal blow at us, in collaboration with the Italians and, later, with the Germans, so that the British forces would intervene as «liberators» in the liberation of Albania and the new Ballist quislings would take power. However, things did not work out that way. The Party was stronger than the Italians, the Germans, the Ballists, the Zogites and the British.

They still made every effort to avoid giving the slightest sign that they might officially recognize our National Liberation War. Of course, they had their predetermined plans and came to us to learn our plans, to hinder the realization of them and to create the impression that they were the main factors in our National Liberation War and that our war and victory depended on them. Guided by such aims, they tried to prepare a terrain favourable to their intrigues.

What conclusions had I reached in regard to the activity of the British? Regardless of the fact that they were fighting against fascist Italy and Hitlerite Germany, regardless of the fact that they were allied with us who were fighting the same enemy, they wanted to weaken our National Liberation War, to weaken and, if possible, eliminate the influence of our Party, to recruit agents and spies in the ranks of the Front, and especially in the ranks of the communists, in order to weaken and destroy us, to create groups and factions, and thus prepare a terrain in which the British officers would make the law in the ranks of our detachments and turn them into «commandos» to carry out sabotage actions and gather information in the interests of the British Empire and to the detriment of the independence of our country. Their plan was to get to know, to meet and link up with the supporters of Zog, the heads of the Balli Kombëtar, with the bajraktars and quislings, and together with them, to create a military-political force in Albania opposed to the Communist Party and the National Liberation Front. They wanted to have this force, which they would lead politically and militarily, ready to engage in direct fighting against us during the National Liberation War and especially on the eve of Liberation, in order to seize power from our hands, or at least, to force us to share power with them. It was the sacred duty of the Party and of me personally, as its General Secretary and responsible for the partisan armed forces, to block, paralyze and destroy these diabolical plans of the British. We were to carry out this sacred duty with complete success. With its heroic struggle and revolutionary vigilance, the Party saved the people and the Homeland from falling into many dangerous traps which the British pseudo-allies were secretly preparing. The British imperialists were unable to achieve any of their objectives.

«Dialectically, however, the old dies out and the new triumphs, hence, with the passage of time, old, anti-popular ideas are rejected and in place of them new ideas are born and their correctness is confirmed by time and science. «The history of the existence and work of my people is not like that of the Phoenix, because, although after each occupation it seemed from the outside that everything had been lost and any hope of freedom had been extinguished, they were never turned to ashes. The Albanian was an eagle and remained an eagle through the centuries.

The Balli Kombëtar is against those who fight the enemy and for those who do not fight it. The Balli Kombëtar has not fired a shot against the occupiers, but has fired on us.

British diplomacy thought that communism was something imported into Albania from abroad and as such it had no basis within the country. In its opinion, the Albanian people might accept almost anything, but communism never!

The decision of the General Command of the Albanian National Liberation Army: 'If the British officers who stay with Abaz Kupa are killed in the fighting to wipe out him and his band, we accept no responsibility for this. We shall make no distinction between the British officers and bandits like Abaz Kupa. If we capture your officers, we shall not hand them over to you, but will hold them as prisoners of war and hand them over to the partisan court for trial as war criminals who have collaborated with the enemy'.»

We were locked in a life-and-death struggle with the Hitlerite army and reaction, the two main enemies, whom we had to totally defeat and liquidate together, once and for all. As I explained earlier, the reactionaries, the quislings, the Ballists, the Zogites, the bajraktars and the pseudo-democrats were fighting us with arms together with the Germans, with the aim that when we had driven the latter out of the country, reaction would be organized and able to seize state power. These were moments when our National Liberation Army had become very strong. Reaction could see clearly that we were putting an end to the occupying forces and could feel the ground slipping from under its feet. We were not only driving the enemy out of our Homeland, but following it in hot pursuit, carrying the fight beyond our state borders. The more the nazis suffered defeat and the stronger the National Liberation War grew in our country and other countries, the more dangerous Anglo-American imperialism became. This was a ferocious enemy. It was disguised with democratic slogans and called itself «anti-fascist», but in fact it was perfidious, operated powerfully, always in disguise, and sought to turn the situation to its advantage to establish its hegemony over the peoples of the world. There were many who forgot this, who underestimated it, while the Communist Party of Albania and its leadership never slackened their vigilance towards it. We were wide awake at every moment to foil its plans and we did foil them, one after the other. The British stepped up their pressure on us, while we struck back at them harder.

We did not know that Tito had long been linked with Churchill. This whole business became clearer later, when it came out what a dangerous enemy and active agency of imperialism Yugoslav Titoism was. However, we had sensed and detected their savage hostility towards us long before this through their actions, which went from bad to worse. There were many who were not aware of the fierce struggle which we were waging against the British, against their secret war and underhand plans against us, therefore great determination and keen vigilance were required and there must be no hesitation on the part of our Party in its actions. Our Party carried out its difficult but glorious mission with honour and success and overcame the numerous dangers with which it was confronted.

We waited for the British to withdraw, but nothing was being done. They postponed their departure from day to day. Apparently, their aim was to remain there and have Saranda as their base on the Coast and in the territory of Albania. In the end, the cup was full. Our patience was at an end. «If the British commandos are not withdrawn from Saranda by the given date, then war will break out between the partisans and the British.»

With the liberation of Albania by the people themselves and their army, we thought that the British and American officers, who had been deployed during the period of the war in different regions of our country, had come to the end of their «mission». During the war their aim had been quite apparent: they had come not to assist our war but for espionage against it, to sabotage it, to organize and strengthen internal Albanian reaction and to help it seize power after the nazis left. But the war buried their dreams.

On November 10, 1945, the head of the Soviet Military Mission, came to me and handed me the note of the Soviet government informing us that it had taken a decision to recognize the Albanian government and establish diplomatic relations with it. «This is a fresh proof of the sincere friendship of the Soviet people, their government, and Generalissimo Stalin for our people and their government,» I said to Sokolov. «The establishment of these diplomatic relations will further strengthen the friendship of our people with the Soviet people.» «This is the desire of the Soviet people, too,» said the Colonel. «We are overjoyed at the high assessment that your government has made of the contribution of the Albanian people to the war against the Italian and German occupiers, as well as of the work of reconstruction of the country.» «It is the duty of our government to do this, because the Albanian people deserve it,» said the Soviet officer. «Please transmit to the Soviet people, their government and Generalissimo Stalin the greetings and profound gratitude of the Albanian people and their Democratic Government for this lofty gesture of friendship,» I said in conclusion.

The National Liberation War is one of the most glorious chapters in the history of our people, but it is also one of the greatest proofs of the political and ideological maturity of our Party and of the correctness of its Marxist-Leninist line. The Party inspired the working masses of town and countryside and made them conscious that they must unite, take up arms against the nazi-fascist occupiers and the local traitors and triumph over them. After countless sacrifices our people, under the leadership of the Party, drove out the foreign occupiers, discovered and unmasked the behind-the-scenes manoeuvres and raised insurmountable barriers to the secret plans of «allies» and their friends, overthrew the reactionary classes and established their own power for the first time in history.

Our Party and people must always bear in mind the hostile activity from abroad or from within — this they must never forget. They must never nurture the slightest illusion that the imperialists and the capitalists change their nature, become reasonable, peaceful and relinquish their aims. There must never be any idea that the class struggle between us and the external and internal enemies can be toned down in the least.

We are fully convinced that with a courageous revolutionary stand, in unity of thought and deed with the genuine Marxist-Leninists, in friendship with the oppressed and exploited peoples and with the honest and progressive folk throughout the world, we shall be able to cope with blockades and storms wherever they may come from. Right is on our side, the future belongs to us. This gives us courage and strength to speak the truth openly and sincerely, to reply resolutely to whoever smiles at us hypocritically, to whoever conceals the dagger and has venom in his heart. Our policy is consistent. It does not swing to the changing breezes of international events.

Its basis is not the secret diplomacy of faceless men, not bargains struck behind the scenes, not the ruble or the dollar. It is not a policy of opening the doors to friends and enemies indiscriminately. We have not allowed and will not allow the wolf to get into our sheepfold. We have disposed of the wolf with the bullet and we shall continue to do so, although they accuse us of isolating ourselves from the «civilized world». A people and a party who are building socialism, who are defending a cause which is the cause of all the peoples of the world, cannot be isolated simply because they do not allow anyone to damage the freedom and independence won at the cost of their own blood.

The people, with the Party of the working class at the head, are and must be vigilant at every moment, must never be deceived by some «sweet» word from reaction, must never think that the enemies «are toning down the struggle» against us, must never be deceived by the temporary changes in international circumstances, but must take and judge them for nothing other than what they are, we must take advantage of them and will continue to do so without making any concession to enemies, to reactionary bourgeoisrevisionist circles, so that our correct revolutionary Marxist-Leninist stand is never «liberalized».

While putting enemies of every kind in their place, at the same time, we must always love, honour and assist the friends of socialist Albania and we should do this with unerring Marxist-Leninist judgement, with iron logic, and never simply because «they are our friends.» In life there are friends and friends, therefore we must know how to distinguish between them. Albania is a small state, like a ship sailing in an ocean with mighty waves, therefore we must have it tight and trim, must steer it well, must not lose our bearings, otherwise we shall founder in the savage waves of this furious ocean.

The working class and its Party must rely on their own strength first of all, must never forget the interests of the people, must always rely on the people's abilities and judgement, must always consult the people's opinion, but never as a mere formality.

The guarantees for our present and future, to make socialist Albania unconquerable and impassable to our enemies, are the continuous strengthening of the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the extension and consolidation of our socialist democracy, and all-round and unceasing economic and social development. The creation of a strong independent economy, capable of solving all the complicated problems of socialist and communist construction with its own forces, capable of successfully withstanding the imperialist and revisionist pressures and blockades and keeping itself undamaged by the death-dealing crisis which has seized the capitalist and revisionist world, is indispensable in order to have a free and independent socialist Albania.

Our strength is based on the correct revolutionary line of the Party, on the unbreakable Party-people unity, which is based on our revolutionary doctrine, Marxism-Leninism. Against this strength all the plots and attacks of enemies will be defeated and all the disguises will be torn from false friends of Albania. Our people must always be realistic in everything, in policy, in the economy, in investments and in expenditure. They must always keep in mind that in order to cope with this danger measures must be taken in advance so that we are not taken by surprise. And one is not taken by surprise when he fights against euphoria, self-satisfaction and unfounded optimism.

Let the enemies «bewail» the fact that our people are always in struggle! Life itself is struggle, and when this struggle is won life becomes beautiful and prosperous, when it is defended with struggle, it never becomes gloomy and it is worthwhile living. This is a great lesson from our history. This is also my unshakeable belief which the Party with its ideology, Marxism-Leninism, has embued in me and which has been implanted in me by my people, whom I have served and will continue to serve, sparing nothing, during my whole life, by fighting as their loyal soldier, arms in hand, with revolutionary fire in my heart, with the Marxist-Leninist ideology in my head, against every type of external and internal enemy of the Party, the working class, the people, socialism and communism.

I am fully confident that the Party, the working class and the people will always be on the alert, always vigilant, always on the revolutionary offensive to overcome the difficulties of growth and to avert and overcome the possible dangers. In this way their present and future will be unshakeable and brilliant.

(1975).



Enver Hoxha
The founder of the New Albania



„Today another page in our history is being opened, a page which it is in our hands to make and we will make it just as glorious as our struggle against the occupiers, and this is the struggle for the reconstruction of Albania, for the building up of the economy, for the building of the culture and education of our people, for raising their social, economic and political level ... And here, too, we must understand, just as we understood in the armed struggle, that in order to accomplish these tasks, in order to give the people a happier and more prosperous life, the whole people must be the factor of this great work“ (Enver Hoxha).

The Provisional Democratic Government, headed by Enver Hoxha, had to set to work to build everything from the foundations. The poverty inherited from the past, the extremely backward agriculture, the primitive industry and the illiteracy of the overwhelming majority of the population were made even graver by the destructive consequences of the war, the burnt-out towns and villages, the paralysed communications and the great human and material losses. The divisions of the National Liberation Army were fighting the Nazis on the territory of Yugoslavia, while within the country the final blows were being dealt to the remnants of reaction and the plots organized with Anglo-American support. Famine threatened the country.

The patriotism, enthusiasm and inexhaustible energies of the people were Albania's only assets in the first years of the people's power. Enver Hoxha devoted special care to the revolutionary education and mobilization of the people, of the working masses, of the new Albania. Just as during the Anti-fascist National Liberation War, after the liberation of the country he, with the love and great authority he enjoyed among the people, was an important factor of the unity and enthusiasm of the Albanian people to build up the new Albania.



Enver Hoxha speaking at the First Congress of the Democratic Front, August 1945

Under Enver Hoxha`s leadership, immediately after the liberation of the country the Party and the state of people`s democracy implemented a series of reforms of a democratic and revolutionary character which opened the way to transformations of the base and superstructure of Albanian society. The firm principled stand of Enver Hoxha was decisive for the defeat of the resistance of the overthrown classes and opportunist and liberal views and activity which protected the interests of the feudal bourgeoisies, as well as for the accomplishment of radical reforms in Albania.



Enver Hoxha and the land-reform

**During the distribution of the first land deeds in the village of Gorre of Lushnja
- 1945**

The Land Reform, which began to be applied in 1945, was one of the great victories which the revolution secured for the Albanian peasantry. It achieved its age-old dream of owning land. The nationalization of the main means of production was another revolutionary act which, together with the Land Reform, opened the way to the establishment of the economy on socialist foundations.



After gathering on the occasion of the first anniversary of liberation, November 1945



The Chairman of the Anti-fascist National Liberation Council, Omer Nishani, awarded Enver Hoxha the decoration „People’s Hero“ in 1945.

The brilliant victory of the Democratic Front in the elections of December 2, 1945 once again confirmed the Albanian people's trust in the Communist Party. All the conditions had been created for the people, through their own representatives, to decide the form of the new regime. On January 11, 1946, Albania was proclaimed a People's Republic. Enver Hoxha was entrusted with the lofty task of Head of the first Government of the Republic. From 1946 to 1954 he made an outstanding contribution in his functions as Chairman of the Council of Ministers and Foreign Minister of the PRA.



Enver Hoxha. Going to the Constituent Assembly, 11. 01. 1946

The recognition, assertion and defence of the rights of Albania in the international arena was the most important aspect of the policy of the People's Republic of Albania in the first years of Liberation. As Prime Minister and Foreign Minister, Enver Hoxha, with his political and diplomatic activity, with his contacts with statesmen and representatives of different countries, worked to strengthen the international position of the Albanian delegation to the Peace Conference in Paris in August-September 1946, at which Enver Hoxha defended the rights of Albania as a member of the Anti-fascist Coalition.



Enver Hoxha speaking at the Paris Peace Conference, September 1946

The CPA and Enver Hoxha were convinced that it were not international conferences which would ensure genuine national independence and development. The new Albania would be built, would defend and affirm itself through work and vigilance, through knowledge and efforts, in unity round the Party. One of the most powerful leitmotifs which pervades the life of Enver Hoxha is his love and respect for the people, for the common people. Enver Hoxha led the masses with a profound conviction that it is the masses who make history.

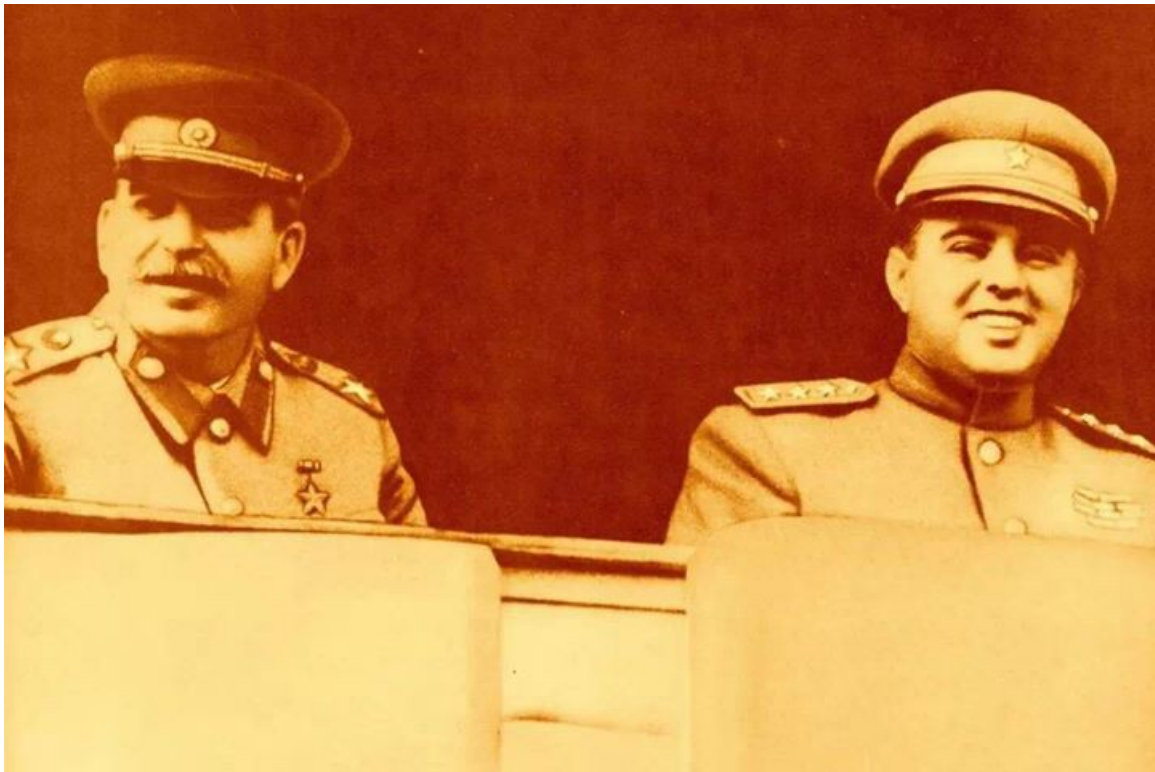


The anniversary of the first meeting of Josef Stalin and Enver Hoxha is for us Stalinist-Hoxhaists and for the class-conscious elements of the world proletariat no ordinary historical event, but today's guideline for the global class struggle, a guideline for global revolutionary action. It is precisely the world-political situation in which we find ourselves today that forces us to clearly recognize the historical significance of July 16, 1947 and the teachings of the great leaders of the world proletariat-Joseph Stalin and Enver Hoxha.

July 16, 1947 marks the anniversary on which Marxism-Leninism-Stalinism began to develop into Hoxhaism.

July 16 - this is annually our day of Stalinism-Hoxhaism.

Decisive for the date of the formation of Hoxhaism (as well as the date of the formation of Marxism, Leninism, and Stalinism) is the *date when they became the most advanced guideline of the communist world movement.*



In July 1947, at the invitation of the Soviet government, Enver Hoxha led a high-ranking government delegation to the Soviet Union for an official visit.

During this visit he had his first meeting with J. V. Stalin, the loyal disciple and follower of V. I. Lenin, the great revolutionary leader of world communism, and the strategist of the victory over fascism. During the years, 1947 – 1951 Enver Hoxha was to meet and talk personally with J. V. Stalin on several occasions, retaining indelible impressions about this great Marxist-Leninist personality. This visit and the talks which Enver Hoxha held with J. V. Stalin helped the strengthening of the mutual relations, made the struggle of the Albanian Party and people against fascism better known, and further strengthened the position and authority of the Albanian state in the international arena.



Comrade Enver Hoxha layed a wreath on the „V. I. Lenin“ mausoleum in Moscow March 1949.

In the years 1944 -1948 the Albanian Party and state were faced with a threatening situation by the anti- Marxist and anti- Albanian activity of the CPY and Tito personally. During the years of the National Liberation War, Enver Hoxha had frequently encountered and responded with firm cool-headedness to the anti-Marxist and anti-Albanian stands and insinuations of the leaders of the Yugoslav Party, who aimed to put the Communist Party of Albania and the Anti-fascist National Liberation War of the Albanian people under their leadership and control. After the liberation of the country, Enver Hoxha, while consistently defending and applying the revolutionary line for the Party, with the support of the overwhelming bulk of it, fought to avert the consequences of the Yugoslav interference which became more and more intensive, reaching its culmination at the 8th Plenum of the CC of the CPA (February 1948). The aim of Tito and other Yugoslav Federation, in order to achieve this, they worked to undermine the unity of the Communist Party of Albania and its leadership, to sabotage the economic development of the country, and to isolate Albania in the international arena,, especially from the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries. In collaboration. In collaboration with the elements recruited by them in the leadership of the CPA, they directed their main attack against Enver Hoxha who was an insurmountable obstacle to their plans and enjoyed absolute authority in the Party and among the people. Enver Hoxha was the decisive factor and the inspirer of the struggle of the Party to defeat this dangerous conspiracy. He defended the line of the Party from the attacks and accusations of the Yugoslav divisions in Albania and for uniting Albania with the Yugoslav Federation. At these key moments of history Enver Hoxha bore a heavy burden on his shoulders.

The 1st Congress of the PLA

„The new Central Committee shall be recruited from comrades who fight for the cause of Lenin and Stalin!“ (



Enver Hoxha

Report of the Central Committee of the First Congress of the CPA

8 November 1948

The 1st Congress of the CPA was held in Tirana from November 8 – 22, 1948. Enver Hoxha delivered the report on the work and activity of the Central Committee of the Party. The Congress elected Enver Hoxha General Secretary of the Party. In a synthesized way, Comrade Enver Hoxha made a profound analysis of the situation of Albania up to its occupation by fascist Italy, of the political forces in Albanian society at that time, of the communist movement in Albania up to the formation of the CPA, and of the line which it followed during the National Liberation War. In particular, Comrade Enver Hoxha brought out the danger of the anti-Albanian, Trotskyite activity of the leaders of the CPY and the groups of enemies in their service. The fundamental orientations which the Congress laid down for the further development of the country and the construction of the base of socialism in Albania were based in the report delivered by Enver Hoxha. Hoxha, Selected Works, Vol. II, page 124, German edition).

Enver Hoxha's all sided theoretical and practical activity as a leader and organizer in the 1950ies is embodied in the socialist foundations laid in those years in industry, agriculture and culture, in the radical changes in the spiritual world of our people.



Enver Hoxha amidst electors of electoral zone 108, in Tirana

- 1950 -

Especially after the liquidation of the the war devastations the program of the Party for the construction of the economic basis of socialism began to be materialized. The heroic challenge which the Albanian people made the centuries of backwardness began with the first industrial and agricultural projects and the advances made in education and culture in those years.



**At the "Stalin" textile combine,
one of the first big projects of the Albanian industry**

- November 1951 -

In each step forward which the Homeland took on the road of progress, in each new project, in every achievement in the economy and culture, the thinking and activity of Enver Hoxha were present.



"Let us build socialism with the hoe in one hand and the rifle in the other."

Enver Hoxha delivered the report at 2nd Congress of the PLA

(The „Party of Labour“ was already renamed on the first Congress of the CPA).

At the 2nd Congress of the PLA (March 31 – April 7, 1952), the program for the development of the socialist economy was further elaborated. The report of Enver Hoxha and the decisions of the Congress put special emphasis on speeding up the industrialization of the country in order to ensure the rapid development of productive forces. The 1st Five-year Plan which was adopted at the Congress served this aim. In the following years, the leadership of Comrade Enver Hoxha, brought about the strengthening of the socialist economy and the building of a series of projects of heavy and light industry. The 2nd Congress of the PLA was imbued with the spirit of J. V. Stalin.

The Second Congress called the struggle against imperialism the most important prerequisite for the maintenance and consolidation of peace. The Second Congress expressed its solidarity with the international working class and all peoples who fought for their liberation from the imperialist yoke and set the task of consolidating friendship and cooperation with the Soviet Union and the people's democratic countries. The Congress also stressed the need to expose and fight the Titoclique as an agency of imperialism.



Stamp

**expressing the deep friendship of Socialist Albania with the Soviet Union of
Lenin and Stalin**

On March 5, 1953 the communists and the world proletariat, all the peoples, suffered a grave loss. J. V. Stalin died. Enver Hoxha was speaking at the memorial meeting on the day of J.V. Stalin's funeral. March 8, 1953. Enver Hoxha and Hysni Kapo, on behalf of the CC of the PLA layed a wreath at the monument to J.V. Stalin in Tirana. The Party and the whole Albanian people, who had seen in J.V. Stalin an outstanding revolutionary leader, unyielding to imperialism and reaction, a glorious defender of the cause of the revolution and the peoples, a great and sincere friend of the Party and the Albanian people, received thus sad news with grief. In subsequent years Enver Hoxha was to defend J.V. Stalin and his work with principle and courage. For the Party of Labour of Albania and for Comrade Enver Hoxha the defence of J. V. Stalin was defence of the cause of Marxism-Leninism and the revolution to which Stalin remained loyal.



Enver Hoxha speaking at the memorial rally for Stalin

8. 03. 1953



Memorial rally in Tirana on the occasion of the death of Stalin

8. 03. 1953



Enver Hoxha - 1954

ON SOME ORGANIZATIONAL QUESTIONS OF THE PLA (July 12, 1954)

The Party and the people understand very well that their deep, pure and sincere attachment and respect towards a leader does not have anything in common with excessive manifestations, boasting, flattery etc. The Party leaders cannot live without the deep, pure and sincere love of the people and the Party, and we the leaders should show the greatest respect for such attachment which is a vivid expression of the confidence on the part of the party members and all the working people in us. The genuine love of the people and the party members towards the leaders should be earned by the latter through the work and continuous struggle for the cause of the Party and the people.

Any other sort of attachment, sympathy and faith outside these norms cannot be called genuine attachment and respect.

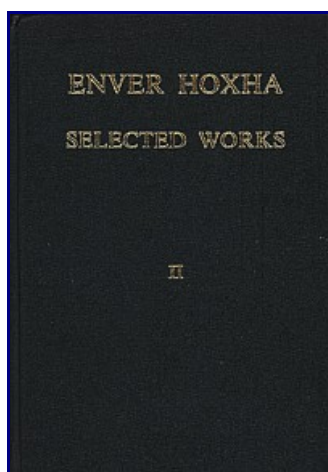
The Political Bureau proposes to the Central Committee the following organizational measures:

1. — That the proposal of comrade Enver Hoxha that he be relieved from the state functions as Chairman of the Council of Ministers, and devote his whole activity to the leadership of the Central Committee for the further strengthening of the Party should be approved. The concentration of many functions in a single person in the early period after the liberation of the homeland was necessary and just, since the circumstances were difficult, our Party and state were young, they had just come out of the war and needed to be strengthened, and organized. But now that our Party and state have grown stronger and the work has extended enormously, the concentration of several functions in a single person becomes a handicap and impedes further development of the work. On the other hand, the vesting in a single person of two functions as General Secretary, or First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Party, and Prime Minister could create a situation in which the guidance and the decisive check-up of the Party and the Central Committee on all the activity of the country and its levers, one of which is the central state power, might be weakened.

2. — That the position of the General Secretary of the Party should be eliminated as unnecessary, creating the position of the First Secretary of the Central Committee, who is to lead the activity of the Central Committee, the Political Bureau, and the Secretariat.

3. — That comrade Enver Hoxha should be elected First Secretary of the Central Committee.

(Enver Hoxha, Selected Works, Volume II, pages 413 - 414)



Enver Hoxha

Selected Works

Volume II

1948 - 1960



Enver Hoxha - 1955

"We must constantly strengthen revolutionary vigilance and the struggle against opportunism and opportunists, and nip in the bud all their acts to the detriment of the party and the people. The Central Committee of our party is firmly united like a granite rock. It leads the party wisely and courageously on the glorious path of socialism and communism. The unity of the party is like a steel block, and there is no hostile force, whether at home or abroad, that could destroy it."

During this period, Enver Hoxha defended Marxism-Leninism against revisionism and did not allow revisionism to turn into a unified international current. Enver Hoxha defended the purity of the Marxist-Leninist line mainly in his own party and purged it from its own revisionist elements, thus keeping its unity untouched.

Enver Hoxha did not allow the anti-Marxist view of *"extinguishing class struggle in the period of socialist construction"* to take root in the minds of communists and toilers.

3rd Party Congress of the PLA

(May-June 1956)



Enver Hoxha - report to the 3rd Congress of the Party of Labour of Albania

1956

The 3rd Party Congress did not yet deal with Khrushchev's revisionist general attack on the PAA and the international communist movement as critically as it did later in the 1960s. What was important and decisive, however, was that the PAA maintained its old Stalinist course and was not receptive to concessions to Khrushchev's revisionist course. Since the 3rd Party Congress had taken place immediately after the XX Party Congress of the CPSU, the true intentions of the XX Party Congress of the CPSU had not yet been fully grasped.

After hearing and discussing the report "On the Activities of the Central Committee of the PAA", reported by the First Secretary of the Central Committee, Comrade Enver Hoxha, the 3rd Party Congress decided to fully approve the political line and practical activities of the Central Committee as well as the proposals and conclusions of the report. The 3rd Congress held firmly to the general ideological, political, economic and organizational line of Marxism-Leninism, unaffected by the revisionist changes of course made by the Khrushchev revisionists.



ENVER HOXHA

On the Counter-Revolution in Hungary - 1956

collection of writings and quotations



Enver Hoxha - 1957

"All of historical experience," comrade Enver Hoxha stressed, "teaches us that the leadership of the Marxist-Leninist Party is a vital necessity for carrying out the socialist revolution and building socialism and communism.

"We must not liquidate the dictatorship of the proletariat; we must consolidate it more. We must not allow it to be weakened, 'liberalized', to create confusion and disorganization in its ranks, because that is what our enemies want.

"The revisionist "theory of denial of class struggle aims to lead the working people in the struggle against the ... imperialism and against the domestic reactionary bourgeoisie. The PAA has always held to the Marxist thesis that the class struggle is an objective reality and will not die out until the classes ... have disappeared on a world scale."

(Selected Works, Volume II, pages 600, 608, 609 - German edition)

"Defending the purity of Marxism-Leninism, fighting against revisionism and strengthening vigilance are the main tasks of the Party of Labor of Albania. Our party will unwaveringly continue on its right path to successfully build socialism in Albania." (Enver Hoxha, Speech at Albanian-Soviet Friendship Rally in Moscow - Zeri i Popullit, April 17, 1957)

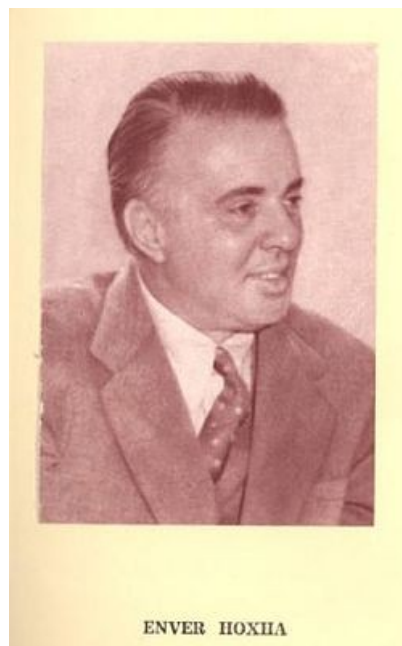
At the Moscow meeting of the Communist and Workers' Parties in November 1957, Comrade Enver Hoxha, the leader of the Albanian delegation, expressed the internationalist stance of the PLA, representing the position of the revolutionary Marxist-Leninist forces that opposed the revisionist course of the XX Party Congress of the CPSU.

Revolutionary theses were included in the consultation statement. But with the concessions to the Soviet revisionists also contained therein, the revolutionary unity of the Communist World Movement could not of course be maintained. The further advance of the modern revisionists could not be stopped by the 1957 Moscow Consultation.



Enver Hoxha - 1958

In 1958, the PLA organized a series of articles by comrade Enver Hoxha, who sharply criticized the views of the revisionists, pointed out the revisionists' distortions of the fundamental teachings of Marxism-Leninism and defended the party of the working class and its leading role, the dictatorship of the proletariat and the revolutionary road of transition to socialism. (Enver Hoxha, works volume 16 - Albanian edition)



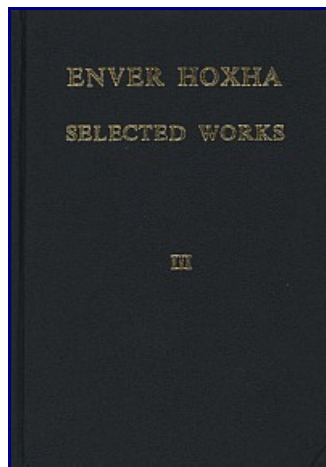
Enver Hoxha 1959

By late 1959, the PLA had come to the complete conviction that the Khrushchev revisionists were traitors. These were no longer deviations, but a complete rejection of Marxism-Leninism.

Enver Hoxha wrote about the Bucharest meeting at which the PLA defended its Marxist-Leninist line

"The leadership of our party considers as premature and very harmful the consultation that is now to be held in Bucharest with all the representatives of the communist and workers' brother parties here for the congress of the Workers' Party of Romania on the differences of opinion between the CPSU and the CP of China."

The revisionist conspiracy instigated there by Khrushchev failed and was judged by Enver Hoxha to be a "defeat for all modern revisionism".



"Selected Works"

VOLUME III

June 1960 - October 1965

The struggle

against modern revisionism after the death of J.V. Stalin

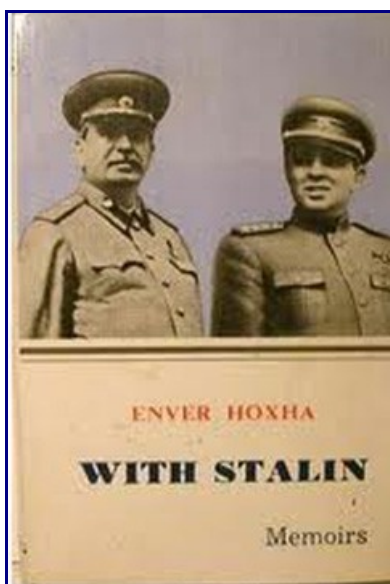


Enver Hoxha -1960

Historical speech in Moscow

After Stalin's death Enver Hoxha became his best disciple. Nobody but Enver Hoxha defended, continued and enriched the Bolshevik heir of comrade Stalin. The Socialist Albania with Enver Hoxha at the head was to an considerable amount the result of learning from the teachings of comrade Stalin. Lenin and Stalin built up the Soviet Union and Enver Hoxha continued their work in Albania by walking in Lenin's and Stalin's steps.

Today we proceed from the 5 Classics: Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin and Enver Hoxha. Enver Hoxha defended comrade Stalin in first line against the Krushchevites, however also against the Titoites, the Euro-“communists“, against the Maoists and Chinese revisionists, against the Trotskyites and all the other branches of opportunism and revisionism included those who confess demagogically with lips their „love“ to Stalin, but who turn out to be his enemies in deeds.



With Stalin

In his work „With Stalin“ comrade Enver Hoxha disapproved the revisionist slanders, defames, disparagements and marked out the great revolutionary figure and work of comrade Stalin. Enver Hoxha taught us Marxist-Leninists, that the defence of Marxism-Leninism is not possible without the defence of comrade Stalin. The struggle against revisionism is not possible without the struggle of the defence of Stalin. The re-conquest of socialism in Russia is not possible without defence of comrade Stalin. These are questions of principled character. Comrade Enver Hoxha addressed these words to the Soviet people on occasion of Stalin`s centenary of birth, and still today this is the appeal to follow the line of the renewal of the October-Revolution in Russia in the spirit of Lenin and Stalin:

"I, as a militant of the Party, as one of its leaders, whom the Party has honoured by sending me several times to meet Comrade Stalin, to talk with him about our problems, our situation and to seek his advice and help, have tried to record my recollections of these meetings at the proper time, just as I have felt and seen the behaviour of Stalin towards the representative of a small party and people like ours. In making these simple memoirs available for publication, I proceeded from the desire to help our communists, working people and youth become acquainted with the figure of that great and immortal man. In this glorious anniversary, I bow in devotion and loyalty to the Party and the people that gave birth to me, raised me and tempered me, and to Joseph Stalin who has given me such valuable advice for the happiness of my people and left indelible memories in my heart and mind.

For us Marxist-Leninists and the innumerable sympathizers with the lofty ideals of the working class throughout the world, this centenary must serve to strengthen the fighting unity of our ranks.

Now, the commemoration of this great jubilee of Stalin's birth is the time for profound relection by honest people everywhere in the world to find the correct road, to dispel from their minds the fog created by the capitalist bourgeoisie, the revisionist bourgeoisie, with the aim of paralysing the revolutionary drive and the revolutionary thought of the masses. Revolutionary thought. and action will lead the men of good will, the just men, he men of the people, on to the road of their escape from the yoke of capital. In commemorating Stalin and his work on the centenary of his birth, we Marxist-Leninists cannot fail to address ourselves directly to the peoples of the Soviet Union to tell them in the most frank and sincere manner:

You, who fought and triumphed over the most dangerous enemies of humanity with the name of Stalin on your lips, what are you going to do, are you going to remain silent on the occasion of this great jubilee? Since they cannot conceal the name and brilliant work of Stalin, the Khrushchevite revisionists, who left nothing unsaid against him, may write some few feeble words about him. But it is up to you, who carried out the Great October Revolution, to remember your brilliant leader with profound respect. You must destroy the dictatorial fascist regime which is hidden behind deceptive slogans. You must know that those who are leading you are fascists, chauvinists and imperialists. They are preparing you as cannon fodder for a fierce imperialist war, to kill the peoples and burn and devastate countries which had great hopes in the Homeland of Lenin and Stalin. This is not what the peoples of the world want you to be. If you go on like this, they can no longer respect you, but will hate you. The peoples of the world hate your present counterrevolutionary leadership, because the atomic weapons they are producing, the parades in Red Square and the military manoeuvres they are organizing, have become threatening to the peoples and their freedom, just like those of American imperialism and world capitalism. The weapons and the army in the Soviet Union are no longer in the hands of the Soviet peoples and do not serve the liberation of the world proletariat. On the contrary, they are intended to oppress the whole and other peoples. You must understand and realize that the enemies have long since turned you from the road of the revolution. The Khrushchevite revisionists are seeking to arouse in you feelings of superiority and domination over others. They claim they are using your great strength allegedly to combat American imperialism and world capitalism, but this is false. Your rulers are in contradiction and alliance with American imperialism and world capitalism, not in the interests of the revolution, but because of their imperialist ambitions and greed for the division of spheres of influence and domination over the peoples. The peoples of the world are worried whether you, the sons, grandsons and great-grandsons of those glorious fighters who carried out the Great October Socialist Revolution, you, the Soviet proletarians, collective farmers, soldiers and intellectuals, will proceed on this course hostile to the peoples, on to which those who rule you have led you, or will rise and fight on the revolutionary road with the names of Lenin and Stalin on your lips. The hope and desire of the world is that you will take the road of the revolution and march forward, shouting like your forbears: <<za Lenina!>>, <<za Stalina!>>, for genuine socialism and against imperialism, social-imperialism and revisionism. The traitor leadership does not inform you correctly about the sufferings of other peoples who are being killed in the streets in demonstrations against the blood-thirsty capitalists and imperialists. They do not tell you the truth about why the people in Iran, thirsting for freedom and independence, rise to their feet and topple the tyrannical Shah. the tool of the American imperialists. The Khrushchevite revisionist clique keep you in the dark about the sufferings of the Arab peoples, the peoples of the American continent and all the continents of the world, because it is imperialism and your treacherous leaders who inflict these sufferings on them. They tell you nothing about how they oppress the peoples of Africa. using your men and their vassals, you do not know about the intrigues the new CZars of the Kremlin hatch up in the world, you are not told that the friends of the Khrushchevies, the friends, of your leadership to whom Nikita Khrushchev and his followers, headed by Brezhnev, opened the road of betrayal, are making common cause with the capitalists to the detriment of the working class and the interests of their peoples. You don't know many things about the sufferings and persecution of honest people in your country, because the present gang which oppresses you is silent about such things. You must know that the peoples have risen in revolution, that they are fighting heroically, while you, who

constitute a great force, allow your traitor leaders to oppress you, delude you and put you to sleep. A gang of overlords has turned your country into a social-imperialist power. The road to salvation is that of the revolution which Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin have taught us. The Brezhnevs, Kosygins, Ustinovs and Yakubovskys, like the Solzhenitsyns and Sakharovs, are counterrevolutionaries and as such must be overthrown and liquidated. You are a great power, but you have to regain the trust of the world proletariat, the trust of the peoples of the world, that great trust that Lenin and Stalin created through work and struggle. You must not delay reflecting deeply about your future and that of mankind. The time has come for you to become what you were when Lenin and Stalin were alive-glorious participants in the proletarian revolution. Therefore, you must not remain under the yoke of enemies of the revolution and the peoples, enemies of the freedom and independence of states. You must never allow yourselves to become tools of an imperialism which is seeking to enslave the peoples, using Leninism as a mask. If you follow the road of the revolution and Marxism-Leninism, if you link yourselves closely with the world proletariat, then American imperialism and the decaying capitalism in general will be shaken to their very foundations, the face of the world will be changed and socialism will triumph. You, the Soviet peoples, Soviet workers, collective farmers and soldiers, have great responsibilities and duties to mankind. You can perform these duties honourably by refusing to tolerate the domination of the barbarous clique which now prevails over the once glorious Bolshevik Party of Lenin and Stalin and over you. In your country the party is no longer a Marxist-Leninist party. You must build a new party of the Lenin-Stalin type through struggle. You must understand that the Soviet Union is no longer a union of peoples for freedom, in full harmony with one another. It was Bolshevism which succeeded in creating the fraternal unity of the peoples of the Soviet Union. Revisionism has done the opposite: it has split the peoples of your country, has aroused chauvinism in every republic, has incited hostility amongst them, has aroused the hatred of other peoples against the Russian people, who were the vanguard in the revolution under the leadership of Lenin and Stalin. Will you go on allowing yourselves to be downtrodden? Will you go on allowing the deepening of the process of bourgeois denegeration in all fields of life in your country, as the revisionists are doing? Will you accept the yoke of a new capital, under the cloak of a false socialism? We Albanian communists and people, like all the communists and freedom-loving peoples of the world, have, loved the true socialist Soviet Union of the time of Lenin and Stalin. We resolutely follow the road of Lenin and Stalin and have faith in the great revolutionary strength of the Soviet peoples, the Soviet proletariat, and that gradually express itself, through struggle and sacrifices, will be built up to the level the time demands and will smash Soviet social-imperialism to its very foundations. The revolution and sacrifices you will make will not weaken your country but will revive the true socialist Soviet Union. They will overthrow the socialimperialist dictatorship and the Soviet Union will emerge from this stronger than ever.

In this glorious work you will have the support of all the peoples of the world and the world proletariat. The strength of the ideas of socialism and communism is based on this revolutionary overthrow and not on the empty words and underhand actions of the clique ruling you. Only in this way, proceeding on this course, will the genuine communists, the Marxist-Leninists everywhere in the world, be able to defeat imperialism and world capitalism. They will assist the peoples of the world to liberate themselves, one after the other, will assist great China to set out on the genuine road to socialism and not become a superpower so that it, too, can rule the world, by transforming itself into a third partner in the predatory wars which American imperialism, Soviet social-imperialism and the clique of Hua Kuo-feng and Teng Hsiao-ping which is ruling in China at present, are preparing.

In this glorious jubilee, we Albanian communists, as loyal pupils of Lenin and Stalin and soldiers of the revolution, remind you to think over these problems, vital to you and the world ' because we are your brothers, your comrades in the cause of the proletarian revolution and the liberation of the peoples. If you follow the road of the predatory, imperialist war, on which your renegade leaders are taking you, then, without doubt, we shall remain enemies of your system and your counterrevolutionary actions. This is as clear as the light of the day. It cannot be otherwise.

When we are convinced that we are acting correctly, we Albanian communists, linked with our people like flesh to bone, do not heave to in the face of even the fiercest storm. And we are convinced that we shall weather any storm, just as the Bolshevik Party and the Soviet Power did, just as the great Captains of the revolution, Lenin and Stalin, weathered them" (ENVER HOXHA: „WITH STALIN“, memoirs; ON THE OCCASION OF THE CENTENARY OF THE BIRTH OF GREAT MARXIST-LENINIST JOSEPH STALIN).

Modern revisionism was first and already in power in the lifetime of J. Stalin – directed against Stalin, against the Soviet Union, against those countries who started to follow the path of Lenin and Stalin, against the world proletariat and its world revolution, against the anti-imperialist and national liberation struggle, against communism and Marxism-Leninism. It was comrade Enver Hoxha's internationalist historical merit to struggle successfully against the Tito-ites. Enver Hoxha completed what Stalin began: he exposed, unmasked and liquidated Titoism as a dangerous branch of modern revisionism within the international communist movement and within his Homeland, Socialist Albania. It was also the historical merit of comrade Enver Hoxha that he draw a principled demarcation line between Marxism-Leninism and Titoism with the result that he exposed and unmasked all those revisionist streaming all over the world whose attitude towards Tito's Yugoslavia developed from reconciliation to open sympathy. It was particularly the stand towards Tito's revisionism, it was particularly the „question of Yugoslavia“ (socialist or not?), which devided the Marxist-Leninist World Movement with Enver Hoxha at the head in the correct side and the international streaming of modern revisionism on the other hand (inclusively the Trotzkyite Yugoslav streaming).

The character of the Yugoslav class-enemies were very clear to Enver Hoxha. For example, the friendly standpoint of the Maoists and all the others as Kim Il Sungists, Rumania, Bulgaria, etc., etc... - towards Titoite Yugoslavia helped him to analyse all the different revisionist branches all over the world , especially the wavering line of the Chinese revisionist leaders with Mao at the head.

„As is known, in 1960 we came out openly against the Khrushchevite betrayal, too, and after this we intensified our principled struggle against it, just as we had done against the Titoite current from 1948 onwards. At this period it seemed as though the CP of China was engaged shoulder to shoulder with us in this struggle against both of these currents of modern revisionism. In this period, too, there were people who said that we had entered into this struggle because this is what Beijing was doing (!), this was dictated to us by Mao Zedong, and this time these voices came not only from Belgrade, but also from Moscow! Such base accusations merely made us smile and we went on with our work. We were already well aware that such things were not said because the accusers did not know the Party of Labour of Albania well. No, these were the howls of a wolf which, even when mortally wounded, tries to threaten and frighten its prey. The Titoite and Khrushchevite revisionists were trying to obscure the truth with smoke and fog, to inflict what damage they could on the image of our Party.

Time was soon to prove once again that we had committed ourselves to the struggle against revisionism proceeding, not from the dictate of Beijing or Mao Zedong, but as always, from the supreme dictate of Marxism-Leninism. On the orders and in favour of our guiding ideology, that is, in defence of the theory and practice of the revolution from the attacks which the modern revisionists were making on it, our heroic Party had waged, was waging and would continue to wage its own principled struggle. The day came when Mao Zedong ceased the struggle against Yugoslav revisionism, but we continued it as before. It must be said that this time, too, through the `open door` of the struggle against Yugoslav and Soviet revisionism we had the opportunity to attack the views and distortions which the Communist Party of China and its deranged leader Mao Zedong were making of Marxism-Leninism. However, as I have proved at length in a series of materials, especially in `Reflections on China`, the cause of the betrayal of the CP of China does not lie either in Mao's dotage in his old age or the senility of other old men in Beijing. No, they had been revisionists, indeed pure revisionists, since their youth, but had adopted their allegedly principled, Marxist-Leninist phrases at particular periods (especially so in 1960) in order to conceal behind them long range, counter-revolutionary, anti-Marxist aims and plans. When finally they were convinced that their `Marxist manoeuvres` were not leading them where they intended, they threw off the mantle of `Marxist-Leninists` and emerged as they were in reality -- inveterate Titoites, Eurocommunists and Khrushchevites. Events developed rapidly and when the leadership of Beijing fell on its knees before the renegade of Belgrade we not only did not do as Mao and Zhou Enlai did and as they dictated to us, but on the contrary we did not hesitate to rise immediately to attack this other variant of modern revisionism -- the Chinese variant, Mao Zedong thought!

These and other arguments prove completely that in the struggle against the renegades of Belgrade, just as against all other revisionist currents, we did not proceed from any external factor, that we never acted blindly or following the bandwagon, and that we were not influenced by anyone. So, convinced from the outset that we were waging a just struggle, conscious that we were performing our duty as a Marxist-Leninist party, we pressed on with this struggle, turning this whole process not only into one of the most glorious chapters in the history of our Party, but also into a great school of revolutionary training and tempering, into an unprecedented university for thorough knowledge and assimilation of Marxism-Leninism“(page 577) .

„At no time did we fall into that abyss into which the Khrushchevites and, later, the Maoists wanted to push us. (...) in regard to the things that have occurred in the international communist and workers' movement in the last three or four decades (especially after the Khrushchevite betrayal) the great historic merit belongs to the Party of Labour of Albania that of all the parties in power it is the only one which not only was not deceived and never at any moment ceased the struggle against Yugoslav revisionism, but also made a profound and all round analysis of Titoism or, more accurately, carried out a thorough autopsy on it. “ (page 578). “Proud of the contribution which we have made to the exposure of this variant of revisionism, and convinced and conscious of the necessity for intensifying the struggle against it, we shall continue on this course in the future, too, shoulder to shoulder with the other Marxist-Leninist parties. We have not reconciled ourselves and never will reconcile ourselves to Titoism and all the other variants of modern revisionism“ (page 579) .

Enver Hoxha created anti-Titoism as a touch-stone of the defence of Marxism-Leninism.

In his memories on the „[Titoites](#)“ Enver Hoxha described the historical experience of his struggle against the Titoites. This book was published in 1983 – only two years before his death. The book was written in the years 1981 and 1982 and covers historical notices, memories and profound analyses on the history of the relations between neighbourly CPY and PLA, between the neighbourly countries Yugoslavia and Albania as a revisionist and a socialist country - from the beginning in 1941 up to the final breach with Tito and the Titoites. Enver Hoxha considered the anti-Titoite struggle as an historical imperative of the Marxist-Leninist World Movement in the all-round fight against revisionism.

„Yugoslav revisionism, the first current which represented revisionism in power, emerged at a key moment in the struggle between socialism and imperialism. Right from the outset, American imperialism and the whole of world reaction saw in Titoism the course, the ideology and the policy which led to the degeneration of the communist parties of socialist countries, to the splitting and destruction of the unity of the international communist movement and to sabotage of the revolution and national liberation wars. For this reason imperialism and reaction supported the renegades of Belgrade with all their might and means, kept them alive and gave them the directive that, while maintaining certain `socialist` appearances, they should serve as a means of diversion for the destruction of others.

Tito and company accepted this mission in full consciousness and turned the Yugoslav party and state into an agency of imperialism. Faced with this evil, our communist parties could not and should never remain indifferent. In particular, it was urgently necessary that the parties of the then socialist countries should not rest on their laurels and think foolishly, that, since they were in power and since the Yugoslav leadership had been denounced and remained isolated, it no longer presented any danger. No, the relentless class struggle, the struggle for the application and defence of the purity of Marxism-Leninism, for the tempering of every communist and the entire Party with the revolutionary ideology, was a necessity *sine qua non* for every party in order to prevent what had happened in Yugoslavia from being repeated anywhere else“ (page 569).

„The so much advertised creature of Tito -- the „self-administrative“ Yugoslavia of „specific socialism“, has been totally engulfed by the gravest crisis in its history and is now in a very grave situation with no way out.

The Yugoslav system has been reduced to bad shape, the development of events has torn down all masks and dispelled all illusions. The external pompous appearances, the misleading advertisements of a `well-being such as can be found in no other place`(!), of a `Yugoslavia of freedom and abundance` (!) have left the place to all-round crisis, poverty and growing unemployment, galloping inflation, and increasing shortages of even the most essential goods and articles of broad consumption, etc.

Just as they did with Tito in his last breath, the imperialists and social-imperialists are doing their utmost to give the Yugoslav system a new lease of life, to keep it alive, although this system is wholly gangrened. No blood transfusion, either from Washington, Moscow or whatever international bank or fund, can save it. This is the logical end of all revisionist theory and practice. The imperialist and social-imperialist creditors take the money from their safes, not because they ache to help the peoples of Yugoslavia out of their misery, but because they want to protect their political and economic interest in Yugoslavia, to expand or consolidate the domains Tito has long ago sold them in return for the credits he has received from them. But if for a period of time it seemed as if Yugoslavia was to gain in this dangerous game, now the time has come for Yugoslavia to put itself up for auction to the imperialists and social-imperialists. A first-class borrower, shaken to its very foundations in all respects, with no clear perspective, without the necessary means and forces to find the road of salvation -- such is the present-day Titoite self-administrative Yugoslavia.

We cannot watch without concern this extremely grave and dangerous situation, not only for the fraternal peoples of Yugoslavia, but also for peace and security in the Balkans and beyond the Balkans. We have never wished those peoples ill, on the contrary we have always been for good neighbourly relations with them(page 632) .

In the 1950`s , the Party of Labour of Albania, which had mobilized itself as the head of the people to carry forward the development and strengthening of the country, had to face up to a dangerous and powerful enemy, Khrushchevite revisionism, that seized power in the Soviet Union after death of J. V. Stalin. Enver Hoxha followed the process of the revisionist evolution in the Soviet Union with attention and concern. From 1953 to 1960 he had meetings and took part in joint gatherings with the Soviet leaders and leaders of other communist and worker`s parties. From these meetings, as well from their concrete political actions, he reached his judgement about the real anti-Marxist nature of the Khrushchevite leading group. From the first steps of Khrushchev`s frontal attack on Marxism-Leninism and the socialist system, Comrade Enver Hoxha came out against their concepts and stands. At the wise tactics, taking into account the interests of the international communist movement and the socialist camp, the interests of Marxism-Leninism and the revolution. In 1976 Enver Hoxha wrote the book „The Khrushchevites“, which was published in 1980. This work (memories) is another prove for the principled struggle of the PLA against revisionism and for the defence of Marxism-Leninism. The memories of Enver Hoxha concern the period of 1953-1961 – from the death of Stalin until the final end of the relations. Enver Hoxha wrote about the visits, contacts, meetings and relations to the Parties and countries as his impressions in that period. To give only an overview we herewith quote just the headings of all the 13 chapters:

“From the time the Khrushchevites took power to the moment when we came out in open confrontation with them, the relations of the Party of Labour of Albania with the Communist Party of the Soviet Union passed through a complicated process, with zig zags, with periods of exacerbation and periods of temporary normalization. This was the process of each getting to know the other through encounters in the course of the struggle and the continual clash of views. After the Khrushchevite revisionist putschists came to power, our Party, basing itself on the events that were taking place there, on certain stands and actions, which were ill-defined at first, but which, step by step, were becoming more concrete, began to sense the great danger of this clique of renegades, which hid behind a deafening pseudo-Marxist ,demagogy, and to understand that this clique was becoming a great threat both to the cause of the revolution and socialism as a whole, and to our country.”

“Stalin dies. Next day the top Soviet leadership divides up the portfolios. Khrushchev climbs the steps to power. Disillusionment from the first meeting with the «new» Soviet leaders in June 1953. Ill-intentioned criticism from Mikoyan and Bulganin. The end of Beria's short-lived reign. The meeting with Khrushchev in June 1954: «You helped in the exposure of Beria.» Khrushchev's «theoretical» lecture on the roles of the first secretary of the party and the prime minister. The revisionist mafia spins its spider's web inside and outside the Soviet Union.”

“The roots of the tragedy of the Soviet Union. The stages through which Khrushchev passes towards seizing political and ideological power. The Khrushchevite caste corrodes the sword of the revolution. What lies behind Khrushchev's «collective leadership». Khrushchev and Mikoyan - the head of the counterrevolutionary plot. The breeze of liberalism is blowing in the Soviet Union. Khrushchev and Voroshilov speak openly against Stalin. Khrushchev builds up his own cult. The enemies of the revolution are proclaimed «heroes» and «victims».”

“Mikoyan, a cosmopolitan huckster and inveterate anti-Albanian. Difficult talks in June 1953 on economic matters - the Soviet leaders are bargaining over aid for Albania. Khrushchev's «advice» one year later: «You don't need heavy industry», «We shall supply you with oil and metals», «Don't worry about bread grain, we'll supply you with all you want.>. Quarrels with Mikoyan. Discontent in Comecon from the revisionist chiefs. Ochab, Dej, Ulbricht. The June 1956 Comecon consultation in Moscow Khrushchev: «. . . we must do what Hitler did.» Talks with Khrushchev again. His «advice»: «Albania should advance with cotton, sheep, fish and citrus fruit.»”

“Khrushchev has his eyes on Yugoslavia. The first sign of the flirtation: the Soviet letter of June 1954; Khrushchev blames the Information Bureau for the Yugoslav leadership's betrayal. Intense exchange of cordial correspondence between Khrushchev and Tito. Khrushchev decides to rehabilitate the renegades. Our clear-cut opposition: the letters of May and June 1955. Talk with Ambassador Levichkin: «How can such decisions be taken so lightly and in a unilateral way?» Insistent invitation to go to the Soviet Union -on holiday» Meeting with Suslov. Mikoyan telephones at midnight: "Meet Tempo, iron out your disagreements.» The meeting with S. V. Tempo.”

“Khrushchev seeks hegemony in the world communist movement. His attack on the Comintern and the Information Bureau. The Khrushchevites extend their tentacles to other parties. The sudden deaths of Gottwald and Bierut. Unforgettable memories from the meeting with Dimitrov and Kolarov. Correct but formal relations with Rumania. The opportunist zig-zags of the Rumanian leadership. Pleasant impressions from Czechoslovakia; wandering at will and visits to historical sites. Suffocating atmosphere everywhere in the Soviet Union. The *chinovniki* surround us everywhere. Our relations with the East Germans.”

“The 20th Congress of the CPSU. Khrushchev's theses - the charter of modern revisionism. The «-secret» report against Stalin. Togliatti demands recognition of his «merits». Tito in the Soviet Union. Molotov is dismissed from the task of foreign minister. Abortive attempt of the «anti-party group». The end of the career of Marshal Zhukov. Another victim of the Khrushchevites' backstage manoeuvres: Kirichenko. May 1956: Suslov demands that we rehabilitate Koçi Xoxe and company. June 1956: . Tito and Khrushchev are displeased with us. July 1957: Khrushchev arranges a dinner in Moscow so that we meet Rankovic and Kardelj.”

“Towards turning the socialist countries into Russian dominions. Changes in the Bulgarian leadership dictated by Moscow. Zhivkov's «clock» is wound up in Moscow. The Danubian complex and the Rumanians' "fall-out» with the Soviets. The official elimination of the Information Bureau. The reformist illusions of the Italian and French parties - Togliatti, the father of «polycentrism». Unforgettable meeting with two beloved French comrades, Marcel Cachin and Gaston Monmousseau. The vacillations of Maurice Thorez. Destruction of the unity of the communist movement, a colossal service for world imperialism.”

“Our relations with the CPC and the PRC up till 1956. Invitations from China, Korea and Mongolia. An astounding event in Korea: two members of the Political Bureau flee to. . . China! Ponomaryov defends the fugitives. Mikoyan and Peng Dehuizi «tune up» Kim Il Sung. The meeting with Mao Zedong: *Neither the Yugoslavs nor you were wrong», «Stalin made mistakes», «It is necessary to make mistakes». Li Lisan at the 8th Congress of the CPC: *I ask you to help me, because I may make mistakes again.» Disappointment and concern over the 8th Congress of the CPC. Meetings in Beijing with Dej, Yugov, Zhou Enlai and others. Bodnaras as intermediary to reconcile us with Tito.”

“The counter-revolution in action in Hungary and Poland. Matyas Rakosi. Who cooked up the «broth» in Budapest? Talk with Hungarian leaders. Debate with Suslov in Moscow. Imre Nagy's «self-criticism». Rakosi falls. Reaction surges ahead. Khrushchev, Tito and Gerö in the Crimea. Andropov: «We cannot call the insurgents counter-revolutionaries.» The Soviet leadership is hesitant. The Hungarian Workers' Party is liquidated. Nagy announces Hungary's withdrawal from the Warsaw Treaty. Part of the back-stage manoeuvres: the Tito-Khrushchev letters. Poland 1956 - Gomulka on the throne. In retrospect: Bierut. Gomulka's counter-revolutionary program. What we learn from the events of 1956. Talks in Moscow, December 1956.”

“The Soviets demand «unity». The Moscow Meeting of 1957. Khrushchev's negotiations to bring Tito to the meeting. Khrushchev's shortlived „anger». Debate over the formula: -Headed by the Soviet Union.» Gomulka: «We are not dependent on the Soviet Union.» Mao Zedong: «Our camp must have a head because even a snake has a head.» Togliatti: «We must open new roads», «we are against a single leading centre», .«we do not want to use Lenin's thesis 'the party of the new type'». Mao's sophistry: 80 per cent, 70 per cent and 10 per cent "Marxists». The Mescow Declaration and the Yugoslav reaction. Khrushchev disguises his betrayal under the name of Lenin.”

“Our Party and Government delegation goes to the Soviet Union. Khrushchev's manoeuvres: the «carrot» in evidence - the Soviet government converts the credits into grants. Leningrad: Pospyslov and Kozlov censor our speeches. «We should not mention the Yugoslavs.» Our official talk with Khrushchev and others. Khrushchev gets angry: «You want to take us back to Stalin's course», «Tito and Rankovic are better than Kardelj and Popovic. Tempo is an ass . . . , is unstable.» A chance meeting with the Yugoslav ambassador in Moscow, Micunovic. Khrushchev's visit to Albania, May 1959. Khrushchev and Malinovsky ask us for military bases: «We shall control the whole Mediterranean from the Bosphorus to Gibraltar.» The adviser on the extermination of dogs. The Soviet Embassy in Tirana, a centre of the KGB.”

“February 1960: Mikoyan on the Chinese-Soviet differences. Exacerbation of the situation between Moscow and Beijing. Kosygin pays a «visit» to Mehmet Shehu in Moscow. The Bucharest plot. Hysni Kapo does not bat an eyelid at Khrushchev's pressure. The Soviets set their secret agents in motion and establish the blockade to starve us. The struggle in the preparatory commission for the Moscow Meeting. Our delegation in Moscow. Icy atmosphere. The Soviet Gargantuas. Pressure, flattery, provocations again. The Kremlin marshals. A brief meeting with Andropov. Khrushchev's tactic: «There should be no polemics.» The mercenaries react against our speech. The last talks with the Khrushchevite renegades.”

“Steel unity in the Party and our people. The Soviets want to occupy the Vlora base. Tense situation at the base. Admiral Kasatonov goes off with his tail between his legs. The enemies dream of changes in our leadership. The 4th Congress of the PLA. Pospyslov and Andropov in Tirana. The Greek and Czechoslovak delegates get the answer that they deserve to their provocations. Khrushchev's envoys to Tirana fail in their mission. Why do they «invite» us to go to Moscow again?! Khrushchev's public attack on the PLA at the 22nd Congress of the CPSU. The final breach: in December 1961 Khrushchev cuts off diplomatic relations with the People's Republic of Albania.”

“Thus the relations of socialist Albania with the revisionist Soviet Union came to an end. However, our struggle against the treacherous, fascist, social-imperialist activity of the Khrushchevite and Brezhnev revisionists did not cease and will not cease. We have attacked them and will go on attacking them until they are wiped from the face of the earth, until the joint struggle of the peoples, revolutionaries and Marxist-Leninists all over the world triumphs everywhere, including the Soviet Union. One day the Soviet people will sternly condemn the Khrushchevites and will honour and love the Albanian people and the Party of Labour of Albania, as they loved us in better times, because our people and Party fought unflinchingly against the Khrushchevites, who are our common enemies.” (all quotations from Khrushchev Hoxha: “The Khrushchevites”, Tirana, 1980).

Especially after the 20th Congress of the CPSU, the PLA and Enver Hoxha personally reflected deeply on the counter revolutionary change which the Khrushchevite Soviet leadership was bringing about. In this grave situation, Enver Hoxha, who never at any time submitted to Khrushchev’s pressure and blackmail to impose his course on our Party, opposed the revisionist platform of the 20th Congress and affirmed the fundamental principles of the Marxist-Leninist theory. The PLA and Enver Hoxha were among the first to understand that a dangerous counter-revolutionary force had emerged in the Soviet Union and to declare war on it. The subsequent developments confirmed the correctness of their stands. The line followed by the Party of Labour of Albania under Enver Hoxha’s leadership was decisive for the defence of socialism in Albania, it guaranteed the independence of the country, raised the authority and prestige of socialist Albania in the world.

In June 1955 the Plenum of the CC of the PLA condemned the capitulant and hostile elements of Tuk Jakova and Bedri Spahiu.

„Tuk's other `theses` were all those which the Khrushchevite team were peddling wholesale in their preparation of the terrain for the 20th Congress of the CPSU: the dying out of the class struggle, re-examination of the line pursued by the Party, especially the rehabilitation of those enemies who had been condemned for opportunism and Trotskyism; the changing of the composition of the CC of the party and the bringing of condemned elements into the leadership, etc., etc.“ (page586).

„The daily experience of our Party in relation to the Yugoslavs,“ we wrote to Khrushchev among other things, „both before the breach with the Yugoslavs in 1948 and later, to this day, proves clearly and completely, with many incontestable facts, that the principled content of all the resolutions of the Cominform in regard to the Yugoslav question has been completely correct. . . (From the letter of the CC of the PLA to the CC of the CPSU, May 25, 1955. CAP.)

„The revisionist theses and decisions of the 20th Congress of the CPSU had just been published and the Yugoslav leadership judged that time must not be lost. In their view, a rapid, secret and intensive action in Albania might disturb and completely confuse the situation, otherwise `the Stalinist leadership of Enver Hoxha` could not be shaken. They started to spin the threads of the plot“ (page 590).

„We arrived at the correct conclusion that it was the revisionist platform of the 20th Congress of the CPSU which had inspired and encouraged both the Yugoslav leadership and its agents within our ranks to undertake this hostile attempt. After the group of conspirators at the Tirana Conference was routed, some of its participants were expelled from the Party and some others, those who turned out to be in contact with the Yugoslav embassy (because at that time we had no facts about the Soviet embassy) were handed over to the court.“ (page 596) .

„From 1948 to 1955 the Yugoslav secret agency infiltrated into and organized in Albania 307 gangs of secret agents, wreckers and criminals who were all captured or wiped out. During the same period groups and secret organizations of agents set up and guided by the Yugoslav secret service in collaboration with Western secret services were discovered and wiped out in our country“ (page 584).

„For about forty years the Yugoslav revisionists have been wrong and have failed in their open plans and secret plots against Albania, and still they refuse to accept that the citadel of the Party and socialist Albania cannot be taken either from outside, with armies, pressures and provocations of any kind, or from inside, through their agents of any calibre whom they have trained and held in reserve for more than forty years, or have borrowed from the CIA, the KGB, the Intelligence Service, or any other agency.

Our Party has waged and will always wage the ideological struggle against the Yugoslav revisionists consistently, because it is thoroughly acquainted with their real features as anti-Marxists, chauvinists, and inveterate agents of imperialism. The whole history of relations between our Party and the Yugoslav leadership has been and still is a history of unrelenting plots by the Titoite clique for the subjugation of our Party, for the liquidation of the independence of our country, a history of the heroic resistance of the Party of Labour of Albania and our people to the diabolical plans of this clique and its endless threats and blackmail“ (page 20) .

After centuries of struggles against enslavement, oppression and ignorance, Albania, the Homeland of a people who have never separated their love for freedom from their thirst for culture and progress, saw the fulfilment of the dream of the leaders of our Renaissance, of great patriots, for an Albanian university. Enver Hoxha at the head of the Party opened to the nation the doors of enlightenment, education and science.



On September 16, 1957 he cut the ribbon at the opening of the University of Tirana.

Enver Hoxha's activity as a politician and diplomat, his participation and role in the international relations of the Albanian state are an important aspect of his great personality. He was all through his life of a communist leader not just the architect and inspirer of the foreign policy of the country, but a permanent revolutionary factor. Enver Hoxha was involved personally in applying the foreign policy of socialist Albania and accomplishing its objectives. After the liberation of the country, up to the year 1960, Enver Hoxha went to many countries of the world and took part in a large number of international meetings and conferences. Both during these travels and visits and in Albania he met many foreign personalities, heads of states and governments, and leaders of political parties and organizations of different countries of the world. As in all of Enver Hoxha's activity in the field of international relations, in these meetings and talks, which were frequently difficult and in tense circumstances, he displayed his rare ability as a politician and diplomat, his powerful logic and extensive knowledge of problems, and his determination in defence of the principled positions of a revolutionary foreign policy. Enver Hoxha's activity has great weight in asserting the dignity of Albania in the international arena, in defending its vital interests, and in the sympathy it won among the peoples and progressive individuals in the world. Enver Hoxha participated a meeting of workers at a factory in Leningrad, April 1957.

At the end of the 1950s, relations between the PLA and the CPSU became extremely tense. The counter-revolutionary events in Poland and Hungary in 1956, the collaboration of the Khrushchevite group with Tito, the aims and brutal attempts of the Soviet leaders to impose their counter-revolutionary revisionist line on our Party were revealing their true features. In Moscow in December 1956 and April 1957, Enver Hoxha expressed openly to Krushchev and his collaborators the principled opposition of the PLA over a series of important problems of the communist and worker's movement and the international situation. Throughout this whole period Enver Hoxha followed the grave atmosphere which was being created in the communist movement and the socialist camp with attention and concern, while reflecting on its causes. At the 2nd Plenum of the CC of the PLA (February 1957), Comrade Enver Hoxha dealt with important problems of developments in the world and in the international communist movement, arriving at conclusions which were in conflict with the revisionist ideas and spirit of the 20th Congress of the CPSU. At the Moscow Meeting (November 1957), Enver Hoxha made an outstanding contribution so that the document approved there was based on the Marxist-Leninist revolutionary principles. After the official visit of Krushchev to Albania (May 1959), the gulf became deeper because of the irreconcilable positions of the two sides. At the Bucharest Meeting in June 1960, the conflict with the Krushchevite revisionists burst out openly. The delegation of the PLA, guided by the precise and continuous instructions of Enver Hoxha, opposed Krushchev's efforts to dictate to the socialist camp.

On November 16, 1960, Comrade Enver Hoxha made his historic speech at the Meeting of 81 Parties in Moscow, in which he made a devastating criticism of the anti-Marxist concepts and activity of the Krushchevite group. The open and all-sided Soviet attacks and pressures began from that time. The adherence to revolutionary principles and the resolute stands of Enver Hoxha saved the Party and the people from the tragedy which the rulers of Moscow and their allies had prepared for them.



Historical speech of comrade Enver Hoxha

delivered at the meeting of 81 Communist and Workers' Parties in Moscow on November 16, 1960

In his speech delivered at the Conference of the 81 communist and workers' parties in Moscow in November 1960, Comrade Enver Hoxha made an all-round analysis of the main problems that were concerning the international communist movement and firmly upheld Marxism-Leninism. This speech is one of the most important phases of the principled fight which the Party of Labor of Albania has waged to expose modern revisionism and consolidate the unity of the international communist and workers' movement.

The battle the Party of Labor of Albania has waged against the revisionist views of the Khrushchevite Soviet leadership began immediately after the XX Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. Although this battle was not waged directly and openly at the beginning, the Party of Labor of Albania had made known all its reservations and objections to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. The Party of Labor of Albania tried in every way to avoid publicising its differences with the Communist Party of the Soviet Union lest that would put weapons into the hands of the enemies of communism. On the other hand, it was not yet cognizant of Khrushchev's real intentions, therefore it tried to settle the differences through talks and consultations in a comradely spirit. While maintaining a principled stand, it strove and hoped to make the Soviet leaders realize their mistakes and take the right path.



ENVER HOXHA IN BATTLE WITH **MODERN REVISIONISM**

The real treacherous features of the Soviet revisionists became more and more evident to the Party of Labor of Albania. The more their treachery was revealed, the harsher and more irreconcilable became the battle the Party of Labor of Albania waged against Khrushchevite revisionism in order to expose and crush it completely.

At the June 1960 Bucharest meeting the Party of Labor of Albania came out in the open in defense of Marxist-Leninist principles and cried "*Halt!*" to the Khrushchevite revisionists who attempted to hatch up a dangerous plot against the Communist Party of China and against the entire international communist movement.

After the Bucharest meeting the Soviet revisionist leaders launched a savage attack against the Party of Labor of Albania in order to force it into line with them and their deeds. Under these conditions, the Party of Labor of Albania became more thoroughly convinced that its principled stand on all the basic issues of the international communist movement should be maintained with the utmost courage and determination. It did this at the 1960 November Conference in Moscow.

In his speech at the Conference, Comrade Enver Hoxha, openly, frankly and with Marxist-Leninist courage, submitted the principled views of the Party of Labor of Albania on the main issues of the international communist movement about which differences had arisen and sharply criticized N. Khrushchev's revisionist group, both for its erroneous anti-Marxist views and actions as well as for its brutal interference in the internal affairs of the Party of Labor of Albania and the savage attacks it had launched against it.

The Party of Labor of Albania launched this absolutely principled criticism against the Soviet leaders in order to safeguard the unity of the international communist movement and the socialist camp, because unity cannot be preserved without exposing faults and alien manifestations, without condemning them forthrightly and without correcting them on Marxist-Leninist lines.

At the Moscow meeting, the Khrushchevites did their utmost to refute the criticism against their revisionist views and divisive acts. Their attempt was in vain.

Following the determined and principled stand of the Party of Labor of Albania on all the problems that were preoccupying the international communist movement, and after the speech of the Chinese delegation, the representatives of all the participating parties at the meeting were obliged to express their attitude one way or the other. Faced with this situation, the revisionists tried to draw the attention of the participants at the meeting away from principled issues and to turn the meeting into a platform of vicious attacks against the Party of Labor of Albania and the Communist Party of China. But this attempt also met with failure. The principled, internationalist stand of the Party of Labor of Albania in defense of Marxism-Leninism and the unity of the international communist movement was seconded by the Communist Party of China and by the delegations of a number of other parties. The Khrushchevite revisionists were obliged to back down.

Comrade Enver Hoxha's speech was a major contribution to the successful outcome of the Moscow Conference. Thanks to the determined battle waged by the Communist Party of China, by the Party of Labor of Albania and by some other parties, the Moscow Conference approved the Declaration. Included in the Declaration were certain incorrect conclusions and erroneous theses. On these assessments and theses, the Party of Labor of Albania entertained quite contrary views which it had also expressed openly at the Conference. The delegation of the Party of Labor of Albania signed the Declaration considering its content correct in general. While making concessions on partial matters for the sake of unity, the Party of Labor of Albania made no concessions whatsoever on the main issues which were connected with the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism.

The Party of Labor of Albania was of the opinion that unity in the international communist movement could be established if every party carried out the Declaration in good faith, and that the differences could be settled only by observing the norms governing the relations between Marxist-Leninist parties without making public these differences to the enemies of socialism. This is why the Party of Labor of Albania refrained from publishing Comrade Enver Hoxha's speech at the Moscow Conference at that time, but persisted in carrying out the Declaration which was approved there.

Comrade Enver Hoxha's speech at the Moscow Conference clearly shows that from that time onward, the Party of Labor of Albania would wage an open battle against bourgeois and revisionist ideology. Nevertheless, this battle had not yet assumed that breadth and depth which it assumed later as a logical consequence of the embitterment of the struggle between Marxism-Leninism and modern revisionism and of the degeneration of the Soviet revisionist leaders into a gang of renegades from and traitors to socialism. The whole document bears the seal of the time and circumstances under which it came to being. It is published without modification.

Telegram of Comrade Enver Hoxha to Comrade Ho Chi Minh

15th of August, 1961

The 1st Secretary of the Party of Labor of Albania, Comrade Enver Hoxha, sent a telegram to President Ho Chi Minh, delivered via the Albanian Ambassador to Moscow Gac Mazi. This telegram discussed the possible visit of Ho Chi Minh to Tirana. Comrade Enver Hoxha ordered Mazi to contact Ho Chi Minh urgently and deliver a copy of the telegram to him. Comrade Enver Hoxha believed that the disputes between the various revisionist leaders of the revisionist countries in Europe and the Party of Labor in Albania were serious and could not be resolved simply or immediately. He assigned the blame for these disputes to the revisionist leaders of the revisionist countries. Comrade Enver Hoxha asked Comrade Ho Chi Minh to talk to these revisionist leaders about the disputes before coming to Tirana. The reason for this was that European revisionist leaders had begun denigrating the Party of Labor of Albania, the Albanian government, and the Albanian people. Comrade Enver Hoxha wrote that the PLA was still carefully analyzing the causes of the disputes. Lastly, he informed Comrade Ho Chi Minh that he was ready to discuss the Tirana trip further in the second half of November of 1961.

On 6th of September 1961, comrade Enver Hoxha sent a letter addressed to the Central Committees of the Communist and Workers' Parties of the Warsaw reaty member countries

LETTER



Albania challenges Khrushchev revisionism

Enver Hoxha, Volume 19 - Tirana 1976

His speech was published in his works, volume 19, 15 years later.

Until today it is a speech that symbolizes the ongoing battle between the Marxist-Leninist World Movement and the revisionist international movements :

"We do not consider it an offense when comrades criticize us justly and on facts, but we will never, never, accept that without any facts, they may call us „dogmatic“, „sectarian“, „narrow nationalists“ simply because we fight with persistence against modern revisionism and, especially, against Yugoslav revisionism. „If anyone considers our struggle against revisionism as dogmatic or sectarian, we say to him, `Take off your revisionist spectacles and you will see more clearly!`“ (Speech delivered at the Meeting of 81 Communist and Worker's Parties in Moscow on November 16, 1960; published in Tirana 1969). The so called „*struggle against dogmatism and sectarianism*““ is already an old, enough known tactics of the revisionists of all times against Marxism-Leninism.



Report to the 4th Congress of the PLA

which was held in February 1961.

This Congress occupies a special place in the history of the Party. It confirmed the completion of the stage of the construction of the economic basis of socialism. Enver Hoxha summed up this period and orientated the Party and the country towards the complete construction of socialist society. Contrary to what the revisionists hoped and despite the efforts of Khrushchev's envoys and some other delegations, the 4th Congress fully endorsed the line pursued by the Central Committee of the Party, in the struggle against modern revisionism. Enver Hoxha's speech to the 4th Congress of the PLA had a wide echo amongst the whole Albanian people. It gave people heart and added to their pride in the Party and their love for their outstanding son, Enver Hoxha.

The great tasks which were to be accomplished during the new stage which the country was entering, the construction of the material-technical basis of socialism, as well as the Khrushchevite revisionists' betrayal created, required the total mobilization of the Party and the people. As always Enver Hoxha gave decisive importance to strengthening the bonds between Party and people, the unity and mobilization of the masses for the accomplishment of its revolutionary program. During the 1960s Enver Hoxha, with his outstanding personality as leader of the Party and the Albanian people, was a fundamental factor of the great unity which made it possible to cope with the situations that were created after the open conflict with Khrushchevite revisionism. The Party and he, personally carried out intensive activity to ensure that the masses understood the line of the Party and the perspective for the development of the country and the strengthening of its defence.



Enver Hoxha speaking

At the meeting commemorating the 20th anniversary of the founding of the PLA and the 44 anniversary of the Socialist October Revolution

On November 7, 1961, at the commemorative meeting on the occasion of the 20th anniversary of the founding of the Party of Labour of Albania and the 44th anniversary of the October Revolution, Enver Hoxha, in reply to the public attacks made by Krushchev on the PLA at the 22nd Congress of the CPSU, publicly denounced the hideous anti-Albanian, counter-revolutionary activity of the Soviet renegades, disclosed the roots and aims of this activity, and affirmed the unwavering stand of our Party on the fundamental issues of the revolutionary theory and practice:

„From the changes that have occurred in the world, there must be drawn correct, revolutionary, Marxist-Leninist conclusions: there must be drawn such conclusions as not to create reformist and pacifist illusions and weaken the struggle against imperialism, but to strengthen ever more this just struggle: there must be drawn such conclusions as not to alienate the peoples from the cause of revolution, but bring them ever closer to it, not divert them from the struggle for their national liberation, but raise this struggle to an ever higher level.“

„N. Khrushchev, accusing our Party in his speeches at the 22nd Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, said that the Albanian-Soviet relations were spoiled for the fault of the Albanian leaders. It is well known that the 20 years of revolutionary activity of our Party are 20 years of a tremendous work for the promotion of friendship between the Albanian people and the Soviet peoples, for the establishment of closer fraternal ties between the People's Republic of Albania and the Soviet Union; they are 20 years of exemplary cooperation between our Party and the glorious Communist Party of the Soviet Union. Twenty years of the activity of our Party are 20 years of sincere faithfulness, of great fraternal love of our Party for Lenin's great Party which has always been, is and will remain for us a source of inspiration and experience, from which we have learned and shall learn how to work and strive for the good of our peoples, for the cause of socialism and communism. Twenty years of the activity of our Party have been years of an unsparing and allround assistance by the Soviet Union to the Albanian people, of a fraternal internationalist aid, which our Party and Government have rightly utilized for the economic development of our country, for the up-building of socialism in Albania, for the improvement of the living standards of the Albanian people.“

„The attempt to make the decisions of the congress of a party as international norms binding for all the parties is a crude violation of the principles of equality and independence of the Marxist-Leninist parties; it is in open contrast with proletarian internationalism. Therefore, it is not our Party, but the Soviet leadership, headed by N. Khrushchev, that has deviated from the positions of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, seeking to force its course upon the other parties, demanding from them to renounce their own viewpoints and obey and submit to them.“

„The question of the fight against Stalin's cult has been used by N. Khrushchev to uncrown Leninism, to prepare the ground to revise Marxism-Leninism and spread his opportunist views in the most important questions of the present-day world development and the international communist movement. This action and the tactics of his are neither new nor original. In fact, in his fight against Leninism Trotsky, too, used the same tactics. ". . . Trotsky in his writings – J. V. Stalin says – makes one more (one more!) attempt to prepare the conditions for the substitution of Trotskyism to Leninism. Trotsky has to discredit, at all costs, the Party, its cadres that carried out the uprising with a view to passing from the discredit of the Party to the discredit of Leninism. While he needs the discredit of Leninism to smuggle in Trotskyism as the "only" "proletarian" ideology (don't take it for a joke). All this is certainly (yes, certainly), done under the banner of Leninism, so that the procedure of this smuggling should be carried out "without any damage at all". (J. V. Stalin, Works, vol. 6, p. 361, Albanian ed.).“ (Present-day development of Trotskyism shows the truth of Enver Hoxha`s notice at the fact that Trotsky tried to smuggle Trotskyism in Leninism: The Neo – Trotskyites make one more (one more!) attempt to smuggle in Trotskyism under the Banner of Stalin and Enver Hoxha!!!) “As V. I. Lenin used to say, by always masking themselves under the slogan of the fight against dogmatism, using `the catch-word: dogmatist`, they have risen against Marxism.“

„N. Khrushchev used Stalin's question to strike on the healthy Marxist-Leninist elements in the leaderships of the communist and workers' parties of the different countries, to scare, and in case of resistance, also to liquidate any one who would dare to object; to reduce to silence the other parties and various leaders who would not support his revisionist views, his course. The question of the personality cult, in short, was used as a bugbear to exercise pressure on the other parties and to liquidate the leaders who were not to the liking of N. Khrushchev.“

„The experience and life both before and after 1955 show that in the assessment of the Yugoslav question Stalin and the Information Bureau were right, because their assessment rested on objective facts, on the teachings of Marxism-Leninism. The experience and the practical life, on the other hand, show that in their stand towards Tito's revisionist clique N. Khrushchev and those who follow him are not right, because their actions are based on subjective viewpoints and are contrary to the teachings of Marxism-Leninism, contrary to the objective reality.“

„For our party it has become clearer with every passing day that by accepting by words the need of fighting against revisionism and not doing it in fact, N. Khrushchev and those who follow him, under the pretext of the struggle against dogmatism, are fighting against Marxism-Leninism, are making efforts to reject the fundamental theses of the revolutionary doctrine of proletariat precisely as Tito tried to do earlier and as have tried to do in the past the opportunists and revisionists of the various brands.“

„Why precisely after the 20th Congress were immediately enlivened the renegades and the revisionists in the ranks of the communist and workers' parties of the different countries, the Yugoslav revisionist clique raised again its head and all of them together launched a frontal attack against Marxism-Leninism? Why, let us say, the theses of the 19th or the 18th Congresses of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union did not become their banner? There is only one explanation here because some theses which were set at the 20th Congress were of an opportunist nature, therefore they constituted the ideological food for the renegades and the revisionists in their struggle against Marxism-Leninism; because the stand towards Stalin and Tito's clique were anti-Marxist, therefore they were utilised so successfully by the enemies of Marxism and socialism for their aims.“

„N. Khrushchev's anti-Marxist stand (...) caused (...)a great damage to our common cause, socialism and communism.

However, the international communist and worker's movement managed to cope successfully with the onslaught of the revisionist renegades. The ranks of the communist and workers' parties were strengthened and this is due to the strength and firmness of the fraternal communist and workers' parties, to the vitality of the ideas of Marxism-Leninism. And thus will always happen. Marxism-Leninism is the banner of victory, therefore its enemies, the revisionists and opportunists, have failed and will always fail shamefully.“

„From the above said it follows clearly that the nature of our disagreements has been entirely ideological and political, that our Party has not agreed with some opportunist viewpoints and actions of N. Khrushchev as concerns some vital questions of the present-day world development and the international communist and workers' movement, viewpoints which are contrary to some of the fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism and constitute a serious violation of the 1957 and 1960 Declarations of the communist and workers' parties. But the existence of these wrong viewpoints among the Soviet leaders is only half of the evil. The greatest evil is that they try to impose at any condition their opportunistic concepts to all the communist and worker's parties, not stopping for this purpose even before the pressure, blackmail and brutal attacks against those fraternal parties and their leaders that do not agree with the revisionist theses of N. Khrushchev, that oppose them and resolutely defend Marxism-Leninism. Here lies the greatest evil, here lies also the cause that relations between our country and the Soviet leadership have become tense.“

„To examine the activity of a communist and workers' party, to express the viewpoint whether it stands on correct positions or not, can judge only an international forum, an international meeting of the communist and workers' parties, after hearing in detail the arguments of that party. But N. Khrushchev feared to ask the convocation of such a meeting because he was convinced that he would not succeed in condemning our Party of Labor. For this reason he did not invite to the 22nd Congress our Party also, because its word would bring to the fore the truth on the Albanian-Soviet relations, would expose his anti-Marxist viewpoints and activity, would reject all his entirely unfounded slanders and charges.“

„Palmiro Togliatti threw at us the Roman anathema, by charging us that we are splitting the unity of the international communist movement. On what did Togliatti rely when he a few years ago attacked publicly the Soviet socialist system and preached polycentrism and the zones of influence in the international communist movement? He has not and will not have any fact against us, but with his own anti-Marxist theses he has greatly served the revisionist Tito. Nevertheless, strangely enough, nobody rose against Togliatti's revisionist viewpoints.“

„N. Khrushchev, who speak so much of democratic methods, patience and internationalism, has resorted against our party to the most anti-Marxist methods, methods which are entirely alien to the relations between the socialist countries. In order to subdue the Party of Labor of Albania, to prevent it from having its own viewpoint, to impose on it his anti-Marxist viewpoints, he and his followers have not stopped before any measure, not only as concerns the relations between our parties, but also as concerns the relations between our socialist states. Today we do not want to enter into detail and to dwell long on these questions, because there are many facts and countless documents which illustrate objectively these, but will mention that as a result of the adoption of anti-Marxist methods by the soviet leadership for the settlement of existing disagreements, as a result of the consecutive pressure both in the economic and the political and military fields, the relations between our country and the Soviet Union have been greatly aggravated. This process has started since the second half of last year, that is after the Bucharest meeting. Since then, N. Khrushchev, instead of agreeing to settle patiently the ideological and political disagreements existing between our Party and the Soviet leadership, made them public and extended them to the state relations also.“

„Who does indeed defend the Soviet Union and its prestige, Nikita Khrushchev, who with his unprincipled attacks and slanders against J. V. Stalin has discredited the glorious Soviet Union, presenting it like a country where the fiercest terror has reigned, the same as in the Hitlerite Germany, or the Party of Labor of Albania that has defended and is defending the Soviet Union from the fierce attacks of the imperialist and revisionist propaganda, which Nikita Khrushchev has provided with weapons? Who does defend the Soviet Union and its prestige, Nikita Khrushchev who with his anti-Marxist actions, attacks, pressure and blockades against the People's Republic of Albania is providing with weapons the imperialists to stain before the world public opinion the Soviet Union and its Communist Party, or the Party of Labor of Albania, which has shown and is showing that his anti-Marxist actions have nothing in common with the principles and the internationalist traditions of the glorious Soviet Union and its great Party of Lenin.“

„Our Party and people, regardless of the attacks, slanders and the hostile actions directed against them, will guard untouched in their hearts the pure feelings of friendship with the fraternal peoples of the Soviet Union. Our Party has taught us to love the Soviet Union, the homeland of the great Lenin and Stalin, both in good and bad times.“

„... The Albanian people and the Party shall – if it is necessary – eat grass, but they shall never sell themselves to thirty silverlings; they prefer to die upright and honorably and not to live as slaves and in disgrace“ (Enver Hoxha, speech held on the commemorative meeting on November 7, 1961).

„The Khrushchevites speak about unity of the communist movement and among the socialist camp, while they treat at every turn the most important questions of the Moscow declaration`s conclusions. And instead they realize such a line into practice which is in contradiction with the interests of the peoples and of socialism . They deceive the communists and the peoples, they instigate demagogu, strive for splitting and against unity, for a wrong unity which is based on an anti-Marxist, revisionist platform“

(For the combative unity of the communist movement under the victorious banner of Marxism-Leninism“, Zëri i Popullit, February 7, 1963).

The struggle with Khrushchevite revisionism which had been waged for years within the international communist movement was now transformed into an open polemic in which the Party of Labour of Albania and Enver Hoxha personally were to distinguish themselves for their resolute and consistent stands. During the 1960s as well as later, Comrade Enver Hoxha, with his theoretical work and articles, distinguished himself for his profound knowledge of the Marxist-Leninist revolutionary theory of which he was a fiery defender. The numerous articles written by him, and his other works of this period, clearly illustrate this aspect of the great personality of Enver Hoxha. In the 1960s the Party of Labour with comrade Enver Hoxha at the top started to break through the blockade which the modern revisionists established against socialism in Albania. Enver Hoxha became the blockade-runner of the Marxist-Leninist World Movement against modern revisionism. The struggle against modern revisionism was one of the decisive attributes of comrade Enver Hoxha which formed him as the 5th classic of Marxism-Leninism in one row with Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin. The 4th Congress of the Party of Labour was the alignment against the Khrushchevite revisionism to transform the proletarian party into a bourgeois party, in demarcation to the revisionist so-called „party of the whole people“.

A good example of the struggle against modern revisionism are the documents of Enver Hoxha`s works, collected in volume 23. Here we pick out the

„Letter to the Party`s fundament organizations“ – May 9, 1962:

„The Central Committee informs all members of the Party about the situation of the international communist and worker`s movement. This letter has to be worked through in all fundament organizations until May 31.

The communists all over the world and in the international public it is seen more and more obviously and clearer that the PLA defends the principled positions of Marxism-Leninism, while Krushchev damages the interests of the communist movement by his opportunist policy and anti-Marxist activities.

(...) Dear Comrades, our Party was and will always be for the unity of the international communist movement ... on the base of Marxist-Leninist principles of the proletarian internationalism, the equality and independence, the non-intervention in the inner affairs and the mutual comradely support and help, the unity by comradely consultations. (...) Our Party struggled and still struggles not for any given unity, (...) but for the unity on Marxist-Leninist principles and the proletarian internationalism, for the unity in the struggle against imperialism and against the renegades of Marxism-Leninism, the modern revisionists. You cannot separate the struggle for unity from the struggle against the enemies of unity, from the modern revisionists. (...)

This is the reason why Khrushchev furiously attacked our Party in the question of unity. (...) Krushchev and his group try to raise the banner of `unity`, to maneuver with lip-service on `unity` to save time, to have a break, to deceive the communist and worker`s parties and to prepare new attacks against the unity. (...) Under these circumstances it is more than necessary, that those parties who stand close to Marxist-Leninist positions, seize the banner of the unity of the international communist movement by exposing the shifty tactics of Krushchev. We have to consider that Krushchev is not yet completely unmasked as an Anti-Marxist.

The Central Committee demands from all Party organizations and communists, that they understand the attitude of the Party correctly concerning the question of unity in the present-day situation, that they fight against illusions , which could develop by the fact that our press shall tactically not write anything against Khrushchev for the present etc.

The Party organizations must however unmask the revisionist ideas and activities of the Khrushchev group by verbal propaganda among the masses of the people, by talks, conferences and lectures. It has to be understood well, that the line of the Party is principally unchangeable, that it will be still the same like before (...).“

[The Line of Our Party Is a Correct, Revolutionary Line, in Conformity With the Teachings of Marxism-Leninism -

Letter to all Party Basic Organizations – May 9, 1962]

Another example is the following document „Our intelligensia grows and develops within the people“ - speech, held on October 25, 1962:

„At present the imperialists and revisionists started new attacks against Marxism-Leninism, and they try to disprove and to distort it. Of course, this is nothing new. How often the bourgeois ideologists have already prophesized its `defeat`? How often the revisionists already wanted to `correct` it? However, since the once published `Manifesto of the Communist Party` more than hundred years have gone. In this period heavy battles were fought out against anti-communism in all shadings. The revolutionaries kicked off different traitors and renegades and the vitality of the ideas of Marx and Engels, Lenin and Stalin held its ground through the centuries. The period that we actually pass through, belongs to the most heroic ones. The furious reaction, the colonialists and imperialists, the treacherous social-democrats and the revisionist renegades carry on their feverish subservice activity against Marxism-Leninism. However, the victory belongs to the revolutionary Marxism-Leninism. There is no might of the world which can stop the ongoing revolutionary process of the society.“

In 1977 his speeches, articles and contributions of discussions of the years 1962 (November) and 1963 (May) were published as Volume 24. Zëri i popullit published the comment

„Let us fight as long as our hearts beat – for the triumph of Marxism-Leninism“

[these have been the words of comrade Enver Hoxha in the struggle against the Soviet revisionists – annotation by the editor] in which a résumé was drawn. The defense of Marxism-Leninism against Soviet revisionists was really not passed over in silence by them. Together with all the other revisionist countries they attacked Albania, cooked up one yarn after another, snatched at economic sabotage, political blackmails, military threatens etc. The Soviet revisionists created the so called „Albanian question“ which was in reality their weapon against Marxism-Leninism and which expressed directly the contradictions within the Communist World Movement and the intentions of the revisionists to split and liquidate it. The so-called „question of Albania“ was in the eyes of comrade Enver Hoxha the revisionist turning away from Marxism-Leninism. The „question of Albania“ was the demarcation line of the Soviet revisionists and they made this „question“ a pretext to attack the Marxist-Leninist World Movement and to split the world into „good“ and „bad“ communists. It turned out that the sympathies of the honest communists all over the world towards Albania grew in the same extent in which the Soviet revisionists and their allies roze the „Albanian question“. And this certainly happened to the Maoists who contribute to the strengthening of the Marxist-Leninist World Movement by their attempts to attack Enver Hoxha and Albania as „neo-revisionist“ who had „betrayed“ the Mao Tsetung Ideas. In the writings of volume 24, Enver Hoxha emphasized that revisionism will gain ground upon neglecting anti-revisionist struggle of the Marxist-Leninist parties and the revolutionaries of the entire world. Enver Hoxha stressed that it is not enough that the peoples defend themselves against the imperialists and social-imperialists, but to be ready for the revolution and the conquest of statepower. Today this means nothing more than to be ready to re-conquer the socialist power of the proletariat by the renewal of the socialist revolution. In Volume 24 Enver Hoxha made clear that the anti-imperialist, national liberation movement would be a great ally and a strong supporter of the revolutionary struggle of the international working class.

The process of amalgamation of the Soviet and Yugoslav revisionism as a united front was – as Enver Hoxha said – not because of the changing of Titoism „**but because of the attitude of Khrushchev and his Clique which proceeded to the positions of the Yugoslav revisionists.**“

On September 13, 1963, the article was published:

"Khrushchev Kneeling Before Tito".

The Khrushchevites did not only give up the struggle against Yugoslav revisionism as it was described in the declaration of the Moscow Meeting in 1961, but they openly finished indeed the struggle against revisionism in a whole. They paved the way to the revisionist leaders in the Western European countries to whom Enver Hoxha **said:**

„What are the Italian revisionist leaders worth who adapt more and more to the bourgeoisie. They shall deprave as lackeys of the US-imperialists just as the Italian grand bourgeoisie depraved.“

The following article of comrade Enver Hoxha was published in the newspaper «Zëri i popullit» (November 13, 1964):

TOGLIATTI'S «TESTAMENT», THE CRISIS OF MODERN REVISIONISM AND THE STRUGGLE OF THE MARXIST- LENINISTS

Later on time proved that the revisionists, who collaborated with the bourgeoisie, became bourgeois themselves. But Enver Hoxha also said:

„There are millions of communists and workers all over the world who fight for the defense of Marxism-Leninism and who oppose the revisionists.“

At the historical moments through which the Albanian people were passing, the commemoration of outstanding dates of their history assumed a solemn character. They are examples and sources of inspiration for the present generations of our country. Enver Hoxha's presence at these celebrations transformed them into a vow which the people took before the Party and its leader. He always wanted to be close to people, amongst co-fighters, amongst the masses and the youth, on these outstanding days. The commemoration of the 50th anniversary of the Proclamation of the National Independence in Vlora in November 1962 was one of these celebrations at which the people demonstrated before Enver Hoxha their readiness to add other brilliant and glorious pages to their history.

In 1963 Enver Hoxha cared about the improvement of the situation on the country-side. In his report *„On the economic, social and cultural state of the village and the measures for its further improvement“*, in Tirana, 1963, Enver Hoxha explained:

„The Party puts on the agenda the urgent and great question of minimizing the contradiction between town and village, because the solution of this contradiction is objectively necessary – dictated by the new stage of the historical development of our country – the complete upbuilding of the socialist society.“

In the report of the Political Bureau rendered on the Plenum of the CC of the PLA , July 1964

, „On the further strengthening of the ideological work of the Party for the communist education of the working people“ the principle „to rely on ones own forces“ was put in the center:

„The principle of relying on one`s own forces is a revolutionary internationalist Marxist-Leninist principle. It results from the fact that the question of the socialist upbuilding is primarily an internal affair of each country and the most decisive factor for the realization of the inner revolutionary forces of each people.“

It was Enver Hoxha who carried out this Marxist-Leninist principle in theory and practice for the socialist development in Albania.

„The upbuilding of socialism demands a high niveau of socialist consciousness which does not come out spontaneously, but is formed by Marxist-Leninist science and growth by the daily educational efforts by the Party.“

„ The forming of the new man ... is not possible without labour, and you cannot separate it from labour, you cannot realize it outside the labour`s atmosphere“ (Enver Hoxha, concluding speech on the Plenum of the CC of the PLA in July, 1964).

The book „Enver Hoxha – speeches and articles (1963-1964) came out in 1977, too. These materials selected from his works were published in French, English and Spanish language.

There are also two further books – the one covers the period 1961 – 1962, and the other 1965 – 1966. The selection of material in three books 1961 – 1966 is the continuation of volume 19 (June- December 1960) and a series of „Speeches 1967-1968“, „Speeches 1969-1970“, and „Speeches 1971-1973“ – all published in French, English and Spanish language, too.

The main axis of the volume „**Speeches and Articles 1963-1964**“ are the struggle against modern revisionism, its political and ideological unmasking and smashing and also the struggle for the strengthening of the unity of the international and worker`s movement. Some particular documents deal with these problems in nmore detail, such as

„**Open letter to the members of the CPSU**“,

„**From the talk during a meeting with the delegation of the CP of Brasil**“,

„**The `testemony` of P. Togliatti, the crisis of modern revisionism and the struggle of the Marxist-Leninists**“,

„**The results of Khrushchev`s visit in Yugoslavia**“,

„**20 years of the new socialist Albania**“,

„**With the fall of Khrushchev the Khrushchevism itself did not disappear**“, and others.

These works reflect the vehement and deep differences between the correct revolutionary line of the PLA and the reactionary line of the soviet-revisionist leaders and the leaders of a series of some more parties, the contradictions between the Marxist-Leninist ideology and as a logical consequence the increased struggle between Marxism-Leninism and modern revisionism on an international stage, the untensified efforts of Khrushchev and his parrots and followers on the way to betrayal. Zjey reflect in an Marxist-Leninist manner the heavy crisis which characterized the revisionist camps in 1964 and they are prove of the heroic struggle of the PLA in the years 1963-1964 – in a difficult and complicated period in which the Khrushchev-revisionists started openly their counterrevolutionary campaign of plots threats and blackmails to put their anti-Marxist and anti-Leninist programme into practice. Khrushchev`s visit in Yugoslavia was commented by Enver Hoxha in „Zëri i popullit“ on September 13, 1963. - as Enver Hoxha described in his article „**The results of Khrushchev`s visit in Yugoslavia**“ – not for holidays but „**a prostration to Tito.**“ Enver Hoxha paraphrased Tito as a „**horse - fed at several fodder-troughs**“.

Enver Hoxha drew three main conclusions.

First conclusion:

By the complete rehabilitation of the Tito-clique Khrushchev`s alliance with the Yugoslav „socialism“ deepened the betrayal of the modern revisionists and intensified the ideological, political and economic collaboration within the camp of the enemies of Marxism-Leninism and socialism.

„N. Khrushchev turned out to be a steadfast partisan of the Yugoslav way to socialism.“ „`Selfadministration` and `Worker`s Councils` are the main links of chain for the capitalist restoration“, “are a variant of the theory of Anarcho-Syndicalism.“

The visit of Khrushchev in Yugoslavia was the beginning of the transformation of the Yugoslav way to „socialism“ from a specific national phenomenon to an generalized and internationally organized one which was used by the revisionists for the restoration of capitalism. The type of the Yugoslav system was the main type of a transmission belt of the West to re-conquer the East.

Second conclusion:

The Yugoslav and the Soviet revisionists coordinated their insidious agitation and subversive activities against the Communist World Movement and the Marxist-Leninist parties who defended the principles of Marxism-Leninism against modern revisionism:

„To collaborate with the Yugoslav revisionists – this means collaboration with the enemies of socialism, with the renegades of Marxism, with the splitters of the communist`s unity , with the agencies of imperialism, who form a plot against the socialist countries and the entire revolutionary world movement“. Enver Hoxha put the thorough question:

"How can there exist any socialist country as a „neutral“ and „bloc-free“ country, if there exists only the historical struggle between the imperialist and the socialist camp?"

On the XXI. Congress of the CPSU Khrushchev criticized openly that Yugoslavia fell between two stools, however with his visit in Yugoslavia he made completely concessions to Tito`s position and evoked anti-Marxist panslavism with which Tito and Khrushchev laid claim as masters of the Balkan people`s destiny.

Third conclusion:

The soviet-revisionist's approach towards Titoism is simultaneously an approach towards American imperialism and the capitalist camp.

„Khrushchev entered Yugoslavia as a bridge from the East to the West.“ Tito was the first deserter and Khrushchev followed him to the West. Enver Hoxha called Tito „the lively wire between the White House and the Kremlin.“ First collaboration with the slaves and then with the masters of the slaves – this was the way which led Khrushchev indirectly from Yugoslavia to the USA.

This volume contains also material on the problems of the upbuilding of socialism in Albania especially the report on the *10th plenum of the CC of the PLA* in June 1963: „*On the socio-cultural situation in the village and the measures for it's improvement*“. In this report is expressed the care, attention and the selfless struggle of the PLA to raise the standard of living of the working people in general and the inhabitants of the People of the village in particular.

In the „*Speeches and Articles 1963-1964*“ you find also the final speech of the *11th plenum of the CC of the PLA*, which deals with the measures which had to be taken to strengthen the Party under the conditions of the complete upbuilding of the socialist society in Albania and the new situation which appeared by the open betrayal of the soviet-revisionist leadership and by the leaderships of a series of former countries of people's democracy in Europe. There the reasons were given for the necessity of strengthening the leading role of the Party, of purifying the rows of the Party and of defending the norms and principles.

In this volume you find also the already mentioned speech on the *13th plenum of the CC of the PLA* „*On the ideological education of the communists and the working people*“. In this document Enver Hoxha was engaged with problems of education of the new people and their communist moral, their love to work and the socialist property. The last part of this document deals with criticism and self-criticism as a strong weapon of educating the communists and the working people.

On April 7, 1964, *Zëri i Popullit* published the following article of comrade Enver Hoxha:

[The Modern Revisionists on the Way to Degenerating Into Social-Democrats and to Fusing with Social-Democracy](#)



Enver Hoxha 1964

1965



Enver Hoxha 1965



Conversation with Chou En-Lai

March 1965

In March 1965 comrade Enver Hoxha had a conversation with Tschou En-lai during his visit in Albania. In his contribution Enver Hoxha set a high value on formulating the resoluteness with which Albania would defend the principles of Marxism-Leninism and of the proletarian internationalism against modern revisionism and its most dangerous branch – the Soviet revisionism. Because of tactical considerateness there was no open criticism on the Chinese deviations from Marxism-Leninism. This meeting took place in the situation when the visit of Tschou En-lai in Moscow (1964) were resultless and not satisfactory for the Chinese (they wanted to shake hands but the Soviet leaders refused) who therefore fell back to the anti-Soviet-revisionist position of the Albanians and remember! tactically – not strategically, because the Chinese Anti-Soviet-revisionism existed only in words just to serve the masking of the own Chinese revisionist way- the way of a social-imperialist superpower in the world. Later on, in the end of the 70ies when the Chinese leaders openly attacked Albania, Enver Hoxha started to unmask and expose Tschou En-lai. We can learn a lot from Enver Hoxha's statements during the visit of Tschou En – lai. The analyse of the development of the world's situation, the rivalries between both the superpowers in general and among the Western capitalist and among the revisionist Eastern countries in particular are exceedingly instructive also as the historic background for the present-day situation. Above all Enver Hoxha outlined the necessary tasks of the Marxist-Leninist World Movement, how to cope with this situation in general and how to take advantage of the contradictions among the class-enemies from an internationalist stand point of view , from the standpoint of the world proletariat and the world revolution. Enver Hoxha wished honestly that China would play a key-role for the world revolution one day, but this wish was and is still today destroyed by the Chinese bourgeoisie which plays the key-role of the counter-revolution in China and more and more in the world with every day of that process of the crisis of US-imperialism. About the struggle against Maoism, please read the special section in this book.

On June 16, 1965, the meeting of the Political Bureau of the CC of the PLA discussed the state of teaching and scientific work in the field of social sciences and measures for the further development of this work. A Higher Party School, the Institute of Marxist-Leninist Studies was planned. In his speech „Our Studies be always enlightened by Marxism-Leninism“, Enver Hoxha pointed out:

„We must combat the view that the philosopher should remain shut up in the `ivory tower`. If our philosopher is not closely linked with the struggle, the life and the problems of the people and the Party, if he is unwilling to meet people or groups of people and get to know them, their ideas, their demands and aspirations, he cannot draw correct conclusions in conformity with the line of the Party, and in connection with the perspective as to what stand should be taken towards the various problems of politics, the struggle against the modern revisionists, etc. Hence, we need a new sort of philosopher, a genuinely Marxist-Leninist Albanian philosopher.

I think that the best method of work and presentation is that of Stalin, who, as a great disciple of Lenin, writes his works so that even a simple worker can read and understand them. These are the sorts of works we need and we need them very badly. (There are some philosophers, who, in complicating matters, present their own thoughts in confused ways and unwittingly slide into revisionist and idealist positions, or at best, their ideas are not understood by the masses of the Party and of the people. (...)) We ourselves, the members of the Plenum of the Central Committee and of the Political Bureau, need to deepen our philosophical thoughts. We need to create a method of our own, therefore, this institute will give us concrete assistance in this direction. (...) The problems of the ideological education of our Party must be dealt with as always, in the light of Marxism-Leninism. Therefore, like all the other comrades, I too, think we should approve the proposal that the Institute of the History of our Party should be turned into an Institute of Marxist-Leninist Studies as the Central Committee of the PLA, that will deal not only with studies of History of the Party, but also with other studies of a philosophical, ideological and economic character, studies of the international communist movement, etc.“

There were also some leisure moments in Enver Hoxha`s lifetime. During the summer, after periods of especially heavy work, on Sundays or holidays, these were pauses for rest which he liked to spend out of doors, amongst close friends or with his family. These were moments of rest from the current daily work, from meetings and official contacts. But even during these apparently quiet hours and days, his thoughts were on the problems of the Homeland and the people. He studied, wrote, and meditated, never for a moment forgetting his great tasks and preoccupations.

The difficult situation which had been created for the Homeland, the dangers which threatened it in those years, required steel unity of the nation, all-round economic, political and military preparation of the masses of the people. Enver Hoxha, the leader of the Party, forged this unity and was a powerful factor in withstanding the test of the '60s. His thinking, his work as leader and organizer, the great authority and love which he enjoyed, were foundation stones of the unity of the people round the Party, of the allround development of the country and the reliability of the defence of the Homeland.

Enver Hoxha emphasized that the fall of Khrushchev is only a fall of a revisionist but not the end of modern revisionism:

„The fall of Khrushchev is a great success, however this does not at all mean the end of the Khrushchevite revisionism in particular nor of the modern revisionism in general. With his exit revisionism was not removed and by far not liquidated – neither its socio-economic roots nor its political line. The PLA and every revolutionary should never cherish any illusions about this truth. (...) Our Party is of the opinion that the conductor of the communists can only be Marxism-Leninism. They are led only by Marxism-Leninism and by proletarian internationalism combined in their united great fight.“ (Enver Hoxha, „20 years of socialist upbuilding“, speech delivered on occasion of the 20th anniversary of the Liberation of the Homeland, November 28, 1964).

This prediction came true by the renaissance of Khrushchevism – the appearance of the so called Neo-Khrushchevism (Anti-Khrushchevism in words, but Khrushchevism in deeds! Another renaissance of modern revisionism is neo-Breshnevism: Anti-Breshnevism in words, but Breshnevism in deeds!). On the danger of the mystifying slogan of the "return to Stalin" launched by Breshnevites, to see the following articles of the numerical edition of the work Speech, talks and articles (1969-1970) of Enver Hoxha:

“The demagogy of the Soviet revisionists cannot cover their face of traitor” – 09/01/1969 (p. 9-10 and 19-21) and:

“The Soviet revisionists in a maze of insoluble contradictions” – 15/05/1970 (p. 142-143).

Enver Hoxha said in his conversation with a delegation of the CP of Malaya, in January 20, 1965:

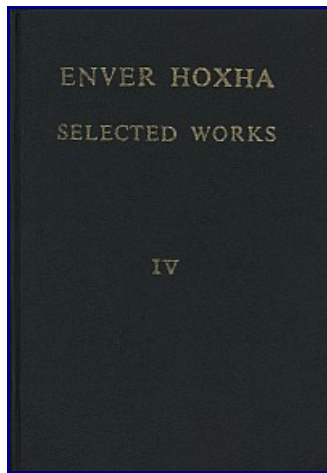
“MARXISM-LENINISM IS THE GUIDE AND LEADER OF EVERY PARTY AND NOT KHRUSHCHEV'S CONDUCTOR'S BATON”:

“It is a fact that Khrushchev's downfall is a result of the struggle waged by the Marxist-Leninists.

This has put modern revisionism in a difficult situation and obliges it to try to find a way out. One of the current methods of the fight of the revisionists against us is to try to stop the polemics and struggle. Thus, what they want is that the Marxist Leninists should no longer attack the treacherous views and stands of the modern revisionists. Their desire and aim is to stop the polemics, because they have seen that the struggle of our parties is soundly based, has exposed them badly, has not ceased, and has not left them free to act and realize their plans. Wherever they have acted they have exposed their real features as anti-Marxists and counter-revolutionaries in the eyes of the Communists and the people's of the whole world. Therefore, all their efforts now are aimed at making us cease the polemics.”

In his closing speech, delivered on October 26, 1965 - at the 15th Plenum of the CC of the PLA -, comrade Enver Hoxha dealt with the question of literature:

LITERATURE AND THE ARTS SHOULD SERVE TO TEMPER PEOPLE WITH CLASS CONSCIOUSNESS FOR THE CONSTRUCTION OF SOCIALISM



"Selected Works"

VOLUME IV

(1966 - 1975)

1966



Enver Hoxha delivers the report at the

5th Congress

of the PLA in November 1966



The 5th Congress of the PLA held its proceedings in Tirana from November 1-7, 1966. In the report which he delivered at the Congress, Enver Hoxha presented a series of important conclusions about the causes of the degeneration of the Soviet party and state. Enver Hoxha pointed out that it was the strategical aim of modern revisionism to degenerate the Marxist-Leninist parties and to liquidate them, to transform them into social-democratic parties for supporting the counter-revolution, for paralyzing socialism, for defending capitalism and for its restoration. He stressed the role which such phenomena as bureaucracy and technocracy, the creation of privileged castes and strata, the loss of revolutionary vigilance and sclerosis of the party of the working class, played in the Soviet tragedy. Comrade Hoxha's analyses and conclusions had decisive importance for preventing such a process in Albania, too. On his initiative and under his direction, the Party had begun to take important practical measures to avoid and eliminate manifestations of bureaucracy and the underestimation of the working masses. The 5th Congress stressed the necessity of the deepening the ideological revolution as a fundamental link for the further development of the socialist revolution and the further strengthening of the dictatorship of the proletariat. This was to raise the transforming role of the whole Marxist-Leninist revolutionary ideas about the development of the whole society to a higher level. The decisions of the 5th Congress of the Party gave a great impulse to powerful revolutionary movements in our country and in the whole Marxist-Leninist world movement. After this Congress the activity of working masses in all walks of life of the country was raised to a higher level. A series of revolutionary initiatives emerged which were inspired by the ideas and decisions of the 5th Congress of the Party. In his report, Enver Hoxha stresses the struggle of the Party against modern revisionism to defend the purity of Marxism-Leninism; he emphasized that modern revisionism is product and ally of the bourgeoisie and imperialism. He unmasked the strategical aims of Khrushchevite revisionism and directed the struggle of the PLA and the Marxist-Leninists all over the world, called for the strengthening of the struggle against Khrushchevite and Titoite revisionism:

„The present world communism must be characterized by such militant revolutionary spirit of the heroic times of Lenin and Stalin.“

„The modern revisionists use every means to split us, because for them and the American imperialists, their patrons, the unity of the Marxist-Leninists means their death. The Marxist-Leninists must destroy all attempts of the revisionists, must overcome all hindrances and must strengthen their unity on the base of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. They must strengthen their cooperation and collaboration, they must work out a common general line and act with common attitudes concerning all the important questions, especially cerning the struggle against imperialism and modern revisionism“ (Enver Hoxha, report on the 5th Congress of the PLA).

In his report Enver Hoxha defined the character of this epoch:

„Every day the elements of our epoche deepen and appear more and more distinctly as the epoche of the transference from capitalism to socialism, the struggle of both the systems of society, as the epoche of the proletarian and national liberation revolutions, the fall of imperialism and the liquidation of the colonial system, as the epoche of the triumph of socialism and communism on a world scale.“ *[und*

* * *

THE FASCIST COUP IN IND ONESIA AND THE LESSONS COMMUNISTS DRAW FROM IT

May 11, 1966

* * *



Enver Hoxha. Speaking to the people, June 1967

ENVER HOXHA

The Architect of Socialism



With the power plant builders Vau Deja, 1967

What emotions and memories the town of his birth, his beloved Gjirokastra, the Gjirokastra of his childhood and youth, aroused in Enver Hoxha! Every street, every stone, recalled fragments of life which one always remembers with emotion. His visit to Gjirokastra, his talks with the ordinary people, his walks through the characteristic cobblestone lanes of the town, were not only moments of fond memories for Enver Hoxha, but an inexhaustible source of love for the town in which he was born was indivisible from his love for the motherland. This marmonious blend of love embodies one of his most humane features.

At the end of the 1960s, after *the 5th Congress of the Party*, Enver Hoxha was the initiator of measures which were taken for the deepening of the ideological revolution, for the strengthening of the Party and the state and for the further perfecting of the base and the superstructure of our society. These were fruits of profound reflection on the results which had been achieved in Albania in the material and spiritual development, as well as on the experience and causes of the degeneration of parties and states of the working class in the Soviet Union and other countries. On February 6, 1967, Enver Hoxha took part in a joint meeting of several basic organizations of the Party in Tirana, at which he delivered his well-known speech. The Further Revolutionization of the Party and the People's State Power, which had a great and immediate echo all through the country. Enver Hoxha's reflections and conclusions in his speeches and other materials on the capital problems of the ideological, political and economic development of the country, were embraced by the Party and the people and gave the spark which kindled the outburst of revolutionary movements which created a healthy atmosphere in Albania. In these years, too, the cloese linking of the people with the Party was concretized, the vitality was confirmed of that practice followed, in which the Party led with its generalizations and its revolutionary ideas, and the masses, by applying them in practice, opened new perspectives of development and progress and gave the Party new revolutionary experience.

The popular movements and the concrete measures which the Party took for the further revolutionization of the life of the country created a vigorous, dynamic atmosphere of work and creation. They gave a powerful impulse to the activity of the working masses to carry out the line of the Party on strengthening the people's economy, and especially, increasing the industrialization of the country. Surmounting the difficulties created by the Soviets, Albania continued on its course towards progress. In the '60ies a series of completely new projects and branches of industry were added to the economy and mining industries developed rapidly.

In the 1960s Enver Hoxha engaged in exceptionally intensive creative work as a publicist. The great polemic with modern revisionism and the complicated international political situation were a powerful impulse to profound thinking which was reflected in a large number of articles published at this time. Enver Hoxha went deeper in his analysis of the counter-revolutionary change in the Soviet Union and other countries of the former socialist camp, arriving at important general conclusions on a number of capital problems of the theory and practice of the revolution. Enver Hoxha's work as a publicist is characterized by revolutionary feeling, by his inspiration to defend and affirm everything new and progressive, to condemn and expose the oppression of man and of peoples, everything ugly and retrogressive of our time. It reflects his profound knowledge of philosophy and history, his attentive following of current developments and his broad and profound culture. Enver Hoxha's writings reflect the revolutionary stands of the PLA and the Albanian state towards the hegemonic policy of American imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism in the world, condemnation of the war of the USA against Vietnam and the peoples of South-East Asia, The Israeli aggression against Arab countries, the neo-colonialist policy in Africa, Latin America and elsewhere by the imperialist metropolises. With profound indignation the Party and the Albanian people condemned the attack on Czechoslovakia in August 1968, which Enver Hoxha described in his articles, as a fascist aggression. On his proposals, in September 1968, Albania denounced the Warsaw Treaty, which had now become an instrument of the imperialist policy of the Soviet Union, and proclaimed its dissociation from this pact.

In these years, too, meetings with the people, trips and visits to the districts and cities in the north and south of the country, were an inseparable and important part of the work and activity of Enver Hoxha. At moments charged with events and new developments, he found time to go amongst the people and talk with them, because he devoted special attention to making things clear to the masses, explaining the line and policy of the Party and the new measures which the Party took for progress in the economy, ideology and culture. Every problem of the country, everything that worried the Party, every danger which threatened the Homeland were subjects for this discussion of the leader with the people.



Enver Hoxha

First May 1967

The ideas of Enver Hoxha sparked off that lively revolutionary situation which blew like a fresh and healthy breeze in the life of our society. Everything new and progressive which had been introduced into the life and spirit of the people during the years of socialism was rallied against remnants of the forces of darkness, backwardness and spiritual oppression. The Albanian women, in particular, twofold slaves in the past, found in the Party and Enver Hoxha the strength to struggle and the courage to achieve what only socialism could make a reality: complete economic, political and social emancipation. Comrade Enver Hoxha's speech of February 6 and that *"On Some Questions of the Problem of the Albanian Women"* in June 1967, were a new call to the people and the Party, to the women and girls of Albania, to march ahead boldly, to put right and injustice inherited from the history of the society with antagonistic classes.

„The whole Party and the whole country have to rise up to brand the reactionary habits and customs of people, who repudiate women and girls and violate the holy Party's laws for the protection of the feminine gender and for complete equality of women within the socialist society“ (Enver Hoxha, speech delivered February 6, 1967).

„The proletarian revolution removes the antagonism between both genders, so as they remove capitalism, the bourgeoisie and her ideology, the exploitation of man by man to lead mankind towards the classless society. The proletarian revolution achieves this by liberating the woman from everything which restricts her freedom and her equality of rights.

As long as there is no true freedom for the woman within the society of a country, there won't be any freedom in this country“ (Enver Hoxha, speech „Some aspects of the problem of the Albanian Woman“, delivered June 15, 1967, Central Committee of the PLA).



Enver Hoxha speaking at the 4th Congress of the Democratic Front

September 1967

On the IV Congress of the Democratic Front, held on September 14, 1967, Enver Hoxha delivered the report „On the role and tasks of the Democratic Front in the struggle for the complete victory of socialism in Albania“.

Enver Hoxha emphasized that the Democratic Front is based upon the leading role of the Party and that the Party`s efficacy is transformed by the Democratic Front. Essence and motor of the revolutionary unity of the Albanian people is the proletariat within the revolutionary unity of the classes. The Front is the most important primary link of the chain for the political unification of the people.

„The Democratic Front directly is the continuation of the National Liberation Front which developed as a free political unification of the broad masses of the people. (...) The Front is the product of the Party. (...)

Perhaps our Party formed the only Marxist-Leninist party of the working class, founded in a country, where there were neither socialist nor social-democratic parties or any other bourgeois parties before and where the only party of the working class developed as the only political party in the life of a country. (...) In consideration of the historical fact, that there were no other political parties, we can verify that this was extremely advantageous for the working class and the Albanian people, for the matter of the revolution and the socialism in Albania, whereas it was a big bad luck, a disastrous defeat for the bourgeoisie. (...)

Our Party has exposed the preaches of the modern revisionists to deny the leading role of the party within the system of the dictatorship of the proletariat and within the mass organizations, to demand the „independence“ of the mass organizations from the party. The modern revisionists raise against the Marxist-Leninist thesis of Stalin that the mass organizations are lever and transmission shaft to connect the party with the masses. (..) If the revisionists demand independence, they only demand independence from and against the proletarian policy, the Communist party, to proceed to the dependence of bourgeois policy, to make the way free for bourgeois parties. (...)

To realize the matter of liberation and revolution it is necessary that the Marxist-Leninist party unites all the revolutionary forces in a broad people's front under the leadership of the party. (...) The upbuilding of a wide people's front may never become a base for the spreading of opportunist and reformist illusions. (...) In the contrary, the Front which was built in the revolutionary struggle, must serve to the matter of political education, political unification and mobilization of the masses for the armed struggle, to smash down the imperialists, the occupiers and the reactionary classes of the country (...). This does not harm democracy, but in the contrary strengthens the proletarian democracy. The democratic character of a system is not to be measured by the sum of political parties, but its character is determined by the economic base, by the class who has the power, by the whole policy and activity of the state and by the fact how far this is in the interests of broad masses of the people and whether they serve them or not" (Enver Hoxha).

The revisionists always accuse the Marxist-Leninists to be „impatient“, to be „ultra-left“ and „sectarian“.

However : „Who speeds up the development of events in an artificial manner“, Enver Hoxha said, “has not a correct Marxist-Leninist standpoint of view, because the revolution will not be organized and realized during one day. The revolution is no marriage, but a hard people's war. However the Marxist-Leninists are not afraid of the struggle; in the contrary, they will become stronger and more invincible in the struggle for the revolution. (...)

Concerning the tactics of the united front „the Party may not give up its independence, may not participate any given united front and let herself destroy. In the contrary, she has to keep independent, to hold tight the principles and norms. She has to obtain unconditionally the role of the vanguard in the revolution by her righteous struggle and her correct politic... the hegemony is not a gift, she has to fight for it“ “ (Enver Hoxha, talk with comrade Pedro Pomar, August 8, 1967, „Rruga e Partisë“, Nr. 2/1977).



Enver Hoxha and Pedro Pomar

Conversation with comrade Pomar

Comrade Pedro Pomar was member of the Executive Committee of the CP Brasilia who fell in the struggle against the fascist dictatorship in his country, 10 years after. On this occasion the talk with Enver Hoxha was published after the death of comrade Pedro Pomar. Pedro Pomar said in that talk in 1967:

„Your words, comrade Enver, touch us very much, They are warm and very hearty. Each time, when we came here to you, we enjoyed discussing with you. Comrade Amazonas is very contented with your country and left it with best impressions and with the conviction of the correct line of the PLA. The PLA stands in the forefront of Marxism-Leninism, in the forefront of the struggle against imperialism and revisionism and showed us, that every enemy, how strong he ever would be, can be ward off successfully relying on Marxism-Leninism. If we are united and connected, then nobody can subdue us. Therefore we sent our warmest greetings in the name of all our comrades and affirm to be your true brothers“ (RRUGA E PARTISË, Nr. 2 /1977).

(note: Pedro Pomar was not free from revisionist influences)

* * *

On October 21, 1968, comrade Enver Hoxha had a conversation with *two leaders of the Communist Party (Marxist-Leninist) of Ecuador*:

The Fist of the Marxist-Leninist Communists Must Also Smash Left Adventurism, the Offspring of Modern Revisionism

In this conversation comrade Enver Hoxha emphasized his critical stand towards the anti-Marxist-Leninist position of

Che Guevara.



A talk with building specialists after the earthquake 1967

In *December 1967*, during an exceptionally severe winter, a powerful *earthquake* struck several districts in the north. The damage was especially heavy in the Dibra district. In this calamity caused by the blind forces of nature, the Party and the people's power, the entire Albanian people, stood beside the people of the damaged districts. On the orders of the leadership of the Party and Enver Hoxha, personally, all the costs for the rebuilding the houses and other buildings damaged or destroyed were met by the state. In those difficult days, the leader of the Party and the people went personally to the Dibra district to give people heart, to convey to them the kind words and care of the Party.

For Enver Hoxha the history of the nation had a great meaning. It was evidence of the vitality of the Albanian people, of their thirst for freedom and progress, for knowledge and culture. The great work of earlier generations, of fighters of the people, of outstanding men whom Albania had brought forth, was an object of respect and admiration for him. For Enver Hoxha the commemoration of great events of history was a conscious evocation from which the present generations of the nation received valuable lessons. Enver Hoxha, personally, had a great passion for history and the science connected with it. He followed the studies and new discoveries about the history of the epochs of the past with the same attention as he devoted to the developments of contemporary history. As leader of the Party and as a Marxist-Leninist thinker, he made a major contribution to the development of our historical science and displayed special care for the profound study of the history, language and outstanding traditions of the nation. The resistance of the Albanian people, led by Skanderberg, to the Ottoman invasion of Europe was part of the national pride and consciousness. But that epoch was also a symbol, an inspiring example, witness to the continuity of the qualities of our people inherited and renewed generation after generation. Five hundred years after the death of Skanderberg, Albania stood on its feet again, vigorous, the embodiment of the strength of the people who had found their own road to the future, who had the strength and will to advance and had the leader who guided them.

„The titanic struggles of the Albanian people showed that with their armed struggle, their steel unity for a great aim – the defence of the Homeland, their honour, their customs, their language and noble traditions, the Albanian people had vanquished powerful, savage and perfidious enemies. The Albanian people showed their indomitable, intrepid, wise, unflicking and just spirit, thereby vanquishing their enemies, as they will vanquish in the future any other enemy, no matter how strong and great, attempting to encroach upon their sovereign rights“ (Enver Hoxha).



**Enver Hoxha - speaking at a meeting of young volunteers for the
construction of the Rrogozhina-Fier railway**

Gradishta - June 1968

Speech:

**"Our younger generation marches along the
revolutionary road of the party"**

For the younger generations of the new Albania, Enver Hoxha was not only the beloved leader of the people and the Party, but also a teacher, father and close friend. The epoch of socialism opened the wide roads to progress, a happy life, knowledge and culture to the Albanian youth. For Enver Hoxha the youth was a great and priceless asset of the nation, which gave the Homeland life and vigour. His concern for the upbringing of new generations and, above all, their formation as people of the future with progressive ideas, extensive culture and profound knowledge, as men who would dedicate themselves to the people and the Homeland, was one of Comrade Enver Hoxha's greatest concerns all through his life.

„The victorious ideas of Marxism-Leninism shall conquer the heads and hearts of the students of the whole world and shall connect them with the class of the proletariat in the world revolution. United they shall smash the capitalist statepower violently and they shall build up socialism as we did. (...)

Our revolutionary youth learns and qualifies itself not because of closed personal interests, (...) but to serve the people, the socialism, the homeland“ (Enver Hoxha, speech delivered on the great demonstration of boys and girls who built up voluntarily the railway line in Gradishte, June 28, 1968).

„The youth of our country sees the future with confidence; the future is in its hands, all the roads are open to iz... This is why it is revolutionary and resolute fighter for the cause of socialism“ (Enver Hoxha).

Enver Hoxha led the movement of the revolutionalization of the school in 1968 in the course of the 5th Congress of the PLA:

„Diverse schoolbooks are not exhaustive to create the new socialist school“, comrade Enver Hoxha said, „in which the bourgeois-idealist ideology co-exists with the Marxist-Leninist one. We are not allowed to make any concessions towards bourgeois-idealist philosophy – to say nothing of theology“ (speech from March 7, 1968).

The *5th Congress of the PLA* criticized the development of art and literature because of revisionist liberal and modernist concepts. In his speech on the 17th Party Conference of the district of Tirana in December 21, 1968, Enver Hoxha pointed out that art and literature are

„one of the most important areas of the ideological activity of the Party“. (...) Everything to the people, everything what will be created, must have the stamp of people`s creation, of the people`s revolutionary spirit , of socialist realism. Anything else is worthless.“



Campaign of the revolutionalization of the schools - 1968

School in Korca where comrade Enver Hoxha himself was once a teacher.

Enver Hoxha supported the initiative for the deepening of the scientific-technical revolution and said:

„It would be wrong to assume that the scientific-technical revolution would be made by some educated people... No, as compared with every real revolution also the scientific-technical revolution is made by the wide working masses. (...)“ (Enver Hoxha, speech on the 18th Party Conference of the Tirana district).

However, the scientific-technical revolution is not that universal remedy which the bourgeois and revisionist ideologists want to believe us. Therefore Enver Hoxha stressed in the same speech,

„that the scientific-technical revolution is not that, what the power of the capitalist bourgeoisie and the modern revisionists shall smash down to establish socialism, but the proletarian revolution“.

Enver Hoxha was always on the alert that the working class retains the power. For him this was not a formal question but essentially a question of the proletarian political line. He stressed unmistakably that the dictatorship of the proletariat, that the socialist system will only be invulnerable, if the Party masters uninterruptedly the raising consciousness of the hegemonic role of the working class concerning the leadership of the whole life of the country:

„We may not mix up the state control with the control of the Party, the working class or the masses or put them together. It is still necessary that they all fulfill their tasks of supervision side by side“ (Enver Hoxha, speech delivered April 9, 1968, in a meeting of secretaries of the Central Committee of the PLA).

„Without organizing the work in congruation with the demands of the objective rules, there will exist earnest dangers which lead to disastrous failures“ (Enver Hoxha, speeches and essays 1969-1970, page 377).

Since April 1968 when comrade Enver Hoxha demanded for better understanding and applying to to worker control as a fundamental element of the leadership of the working class, there were large steps in solving this question in the further development of the strengthening of the working class` power in Albania.



Enver Hoxha - 60th Birthday - 1968

Enver Hoxha formed the revolutionary character of the Albanian foreign policy. In the 60s the PLA had to cope with the Chinese Question. Albania was still in solidarity with China although it did not agree with the activities of the Chinese leaders. There seemed to be reasons to believe that the Culture Revolution would be directed against capitalist and revisionist elements. Later on Enver Hoxha found out that it was :

„neither a revolution, nor big, nor cultural and not to say proletarian“ (Enver Hoxha, „imperialism and Revolution“, page 384).

March 24, 1968, there was a very important article in „Zëri i popullit“ written by comrade Enver Hoxha and called:

„The working class in the revisionist countries must step in the battlefield again and re-establish the dictatorship of the proletariat“. His appeal for the renewal of the socialist revolution in the revisionist countries was one of the most important appeals of the Marxist-Leninist, anti-revisionist World Movement. On this anti-revisionist battlefield Enver Hoxha later on commanded also the proletarian ideological weapons of Marxism-Leninism against the Mao tsetung Ideas, against Kim Il-sung-ism etc.

„In this meaningful time for the destiny of the revolution all the Marxist-Leninists and the world proletariat cannot stay silent, cannot stay reserved and inactive about what happens in the revisionist countries. The proletarian internationalism demands from all revolutionaries that they raise their voice and fight consequently and principled for the destruction of the ruling revisionist Cliques and to support the working class and the people, who are oppressed by the revisionists. The treacherous cliques must be smashed and the flag of the revolution and socialism must be hoisted up again“ (Enver Hoxha).

These great words are still program of the Comintern [SH].

On the 13th of September, 1968 Albania canceled the Warsaw Treaty to resist the hegemonic and slavarist policy of the American imperialist and the Soviet Social-imperialists and continued consequently the path of Struggle against revisionism.



Enver Hoxha - 60th Birthday - 16 October 1968

1969



Enver Hoxha - seaside

Vlorë 1969



Enver Hoxha 1969



**Enver Hoxha is celebrating the 25th Anniversary of the Congress of
Përmet, in May 1969**

On occasion of the 25th year of the liberation, November 20, 1969, Enver Hoxha emphasized in his commemoration-speech

25 years of struggle and victory on the road to socialism ,

part 2, part 3, part 4 :

„The biggest class-antagonism of our time is that between the imperialists and the revisionists on the one hand and the peoples on the other hand. This antagonism increases permanently and is expressed by hard class struggles on an national and international scale, which proceed very successfully to the advantage of the peoples. The future belongs to the revolution, to socialism inspite of the zig-zags of the course of the world. In fact the world proletariat struggles and sees for itself by experience that it is necessary to built up a new world without exploitation and oppression, that it is necessary to destroy completely this old world of exploitation and oppression, which is only possible through revolution and which is not possible without armed violence. The world revolution will certainly not break out in a day, and the struggle will not be settled within a day or two. The fight is long and difficult, calls for many victims, but the idea of the revolution shall pave the way for the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat incessantly and irresistibly“ (Enver Hoxha).

On December 8 - 1969 the following article of comrade Enver Hoxha was published:

KNOWLEDGE OF THE CONTRADICTIONS IN THE CAPITALIST-REVISIONIST

WORLD SERVES MARXIST-LENINISTS IN THEIR STRUGGLE

1970



Enver Hoxha - 31st of May 1970 - in Dragobia

"I wanted to come here to see this wonderful place, one of the most beautiful in Albania".



Tropojë, May 1970

On November 8, 1970, Enver Hoxha delivered the speech

**„Study Marxist-Leninist theory linking it
closely with revolutionary practice“**

, at the Solemn Meeting commemorating the 25th anniversary of the founding of the „*V. I. Lenin*“ Party School:

„It is up to us, the communists, in the first place, to understand our theory profoundly and then to teach it to the broad masses of the people. Questions of theory are not one-sided, nor is it enough that they should be known, understood and applied only by a few; they should be known, understood and applied correctly by all the people for all of them have their tasks and duties and no one, old or young, can escape either from his personal responsibility, or from that of the collective. (...) We learn Marxism-Leninism at school not for the sake of satisfying our curiosity or only to enrich or develop our intellect, but to be as useful as possible in life, to accomplish the tasks set by the Party as successfully as possible, to be conscious revolutionaries capable of promoting the cause of socialism and communism in our country. This is attained when the Marxist-Leninist theory is learned not in an abstract manner, academically, in a bookish practice of the masses.

To master Marxism-Leninism means to master its fundamental principles and laws, its world outlook and methodology, the Marxist-Leninist way of interpreting things and solving problems. Learning the Marxist-Leninist definitions on this or that topic, on this or that law of Marxist philosophy or political economy, has its own importance. But what is of greater importance is to learn how to be guided by these laws in life, how to solve the concrete problems facing us on the basis of these laws. It is important to know the history of the Party, its glorious road, but it is of greater importance to get a thorough understanding of the starting point and the methods used by our Party in solving the problems under different circumstances and from this to learn how to solve them today under new historical conditions. The task of the Party School is not just to impart to these cadres of the Party some Marxist knowledge, but to arm them in such a way that they may orientate themselves in life, to form in them that Marxist manner of thinking and acting. Understood in this way, we say that Marxism-Leninism should serve us as a guiding compass“ (Enver Hoxha).



**Enver Hoxha on the 25th anniversary of the founding of the Party High School
"V.I. Lenin"
8 November 1970**

After intensive work, Enver Hoxha relaxed amongst people, amongst children. He would meet them, shake hands with them, and a warm and sincere talk would begin. In these meetings the natural shyness dissolved immediately, because their talk was the continuation of the great and uninterrupted conversation which the leader conducted with his people at every moment. These unforgettable meetings will be cherished in the everlasting memory of the people through the ages.

In his speech

**„It is in the Party-People-State Power
Unity that our strength lies“,**

delivered on *September 18th 1970* at a meeting with the electors of the No 219 electoral district, Enver Hoxha welcomed them with the following words:

**„Every meeting with the people is for me a very great joy, a real revolutionary school, for from the people we always learn great lessons, in their creative thought we find inexhaustible energies which give us new forces to fight and work. In particular, I am very glad to come to this electoral zone and meet my electors, because I come here not only as your son, as your brother, as your comrade, but also as the candidate for your representative to the highest organ of our People`s Power“
(Enver Hoxha).**

Enver Hoxha had many conversations and meetings with delegations of Communist Parties and Organizations all over the world.

In December 8, 1969 he said - concerning the rupture with the revisionists - to the delegation of the *Communist Party of Australia (ML)* [-who were exposed by Enver Hoxha as Maoist agents, later on the 7th Congress of the PLA. Afterb the fall of Envers's Albania the Trotskyite traitors of New Zealand blamed comrade Enver Hoxha for the degeneration of socialism in Albania] :

„The problem is that you must separate yourselves from these enemies not just organizationally, but, first of all, ideologically, because then the organizational division comes automatically. Hence, the ideological division with them is the main thing, and, in this direction, we think that the dots must be clearly placed above the i`s. The separation from the revisionists assists the consolidation of the ranks of the party and purging of incorrect views from its members.

But can it be said that with the separation from the revisionists all revisionist views have been swept away? No, not at all. We, too, wage a resolute principled struggle against revisionist views, because we still have some such views to get rid of, and that is why the revolutionization of our Party continues in the ideological field. It is precisely in this direction that we are concentrating our struggle at the present time. Bourgeois revisionist views are purged, in the first place, by purging one`s consciousness, and this is a very important matter. (...) As I assure you, that I am only a resolute member of my Party and a resolute fighter of the international communist movement“ (Enver Hoxha).

In *Gjirokastra*, so dear to him, amidst people who welcomed him. He likes to talk to them, he longs to see the town. And one evening, when the city seems asleep, he has the desire to go out in the quiet of the night through the silent streets. He wants to hear the ring of footsteps on the cobble-stones of the Qafa e Pazarit which perhaps recall the sounds of the heel-plates of the shoes when he ran through the lanes of his childhood. He wants to stroll through lane after lane, passing gate after gate, to show his wife, Nexhmije, the geography of the town and tell her interesting tales of years gone by ... But the town is not asleep. Someone pulls back a curtain, someone is walking home from work and ... the street is filled with people. That puts an end to being on his own, to the geography lesson, to the journey back to childhood. But there is no sign of regret in his eyes. He is smiling as he speaks with them and listen to them. Enver liked to talk quietly with people.

„I have had a great longing to come here to your Dragobia, so famous for valour, first of all, to see you highlanders, you parents, brothers, sisters and fine boys and girls who live in the distant corner of the Homeland, where your forefathers and you yourselves have fought and now are working enthusiastically for the new life, for socialism. I wanted to come here to see this wonderful place, one of the most beautiful in Albania, to see not only its marvellous natural beauties but also its majesty as an invincible historic fortress“ (Enver Hoxha).

In the years of the Party, the zones of the North where poverty and pronounced backwardness prevailed in the past, were experiencing a vigorous all-round economic and cultural development. Socialism included the whole country on a process of transformation which ensured the harmonious development of all regions in the south and the north. The opening of new mines, plants and factories had brought a new spirit of progress to the north, too, had brought about the birth and strengthening there of a developed working class, alongside the cooperativist peasantry. For Enver Hoxha, personally, his meetings with the patriotic people of the Northern Highlands, during this visit which he made there in June 1970, were not only an opportunity for a warm and sincere conversation, but also the source of an inexhaustible strength which the people had always given the Party through their ardent patriotism and through their struggle to embrace the new and the ideas of the Party for the radical transformation of all aspects of life.



Enver Hoxha - June 1970

in Has

All through his life Enver Hoxha retained his indelible love and respect for the common people, for those who sheltered him in their homes and cottages during the difficult years of the war, for those who gave their sons and daughters for freedom. On every visit which he made to different districts in Albania, the war veterans, the parents and the sons and daughters of fallen partisans were among the first people he would meet. All through the years, spiritual bonds such as those that can be created only between parent and son, were created between the people and the leader. Although the years rolled by and Enver Hoxha's hair turned grey, all the mothers called him simply „son“. Enver Hoxha loved to meet them, to talk to them and recall the past. And they had things to recall.

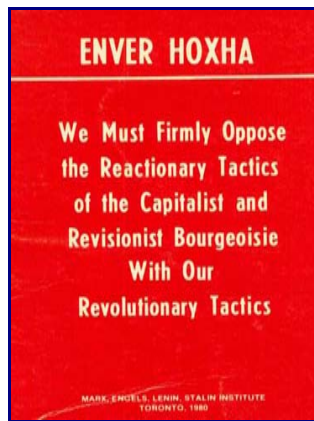


Enver Hoxha receives the member of the government of Congo - Alois Mudileno Masengo

On October 17, 1970 , comrade Enver Hoxha had a conversation with a delegation of the People's Republic of Congo (Brazzaville) -

The Marxist-Leninist party assures freedom to the people and independence for the homeland by relying on the masses.

* * *



**We must firmly oppose the reactionary tactics
of the capitalist and revisionist bourgeoisie
with our revolutionary tactics**

November 14, 1970

Talk with the polit Bureau of the CP of India (M-L)

* * *

1971

**Enver Hoxha - between the 6th and 7th Party Congress of the
PLA -**

November 1, 1971 - November 1, 1976

In preparation of the 6th Congress of the PLA comrade Enver Hoxha pointed out in his speech „*On the theoretical and practical significance of work organization*“ - delivered on the 10th Plenum of the CC of the PLA:

„Next year we will have the 6th Party Congress before us. Before us lie the meeting of the grassroot organizations for rendering account and elections, the Party Conference and so on. Should these not be considered objectives which should be reached with the greatest of results towards consolidating our Party, its role of leadership at all levels, by improving its make up and spreading it, by raising the level of its members, by further revolutionizing the communists and cadres?

In order to be able to raise well thought-out and argued problems at the Party Conference and at the Congress, it is necessary to start right now to undertake various studies, to sum up the experience accumulated, thus, to do more scientific work as the Plenum also advised. Reference was made, at the meeting of the Plenum, to initiatives and independent actions. It is precisely in the struggle to carry out the tasks set at this Plenum that the initiative and the independent action of the base should appear in all its grandeur. Let no orders or instructions be expected to come from above on how to use these materials. Who profits by this uniformism? Why should all matters be necessarily treated always in the same manner everywhere? In line with the problems, tasks and links it has, each organization of the district or of the base should take up, analyze and resolve one after the other all the problems which trouble it, viewing them from the angle of the directives issued by the 10th Plenum. It is high time for us to make a sharp turn in this direction. Let the meeting of this Plenum serve as a serious urge to make this necessary turn in our method of work, in all organizational work!“ (Enver Hoxha).



Enver Hoxha reading the report of the 6th Congress of the PLA, November 1971

At the 6th Congress of the PLA (November 1 – 7, 1971), Enver Hoxha summed up the experience of the work of the Party, of powerful revolutionary movements of the working masses and the entire Albanian people to deepen the socialist revolution in all fields. He made a series of important generalizations about the strengthening of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the ever more extensive and active drawing of the masses into running the country. Comrade Enver Hoxha stressed the necessity of deepening the ideological and cultural revolution as an imperative task to close the road to degeneration of the socialist state and society more and more. The triumph of socialism, any step forward of the revolution, would be inconceivable without the spiritual liberation of people. Comrade Enver Hoxha's Marxist-Leninist conclusions about the leading role of the Party and its ideological, political and organizational strengthening and tempering were of great theoretical and practical value.

The 6th Congress of the PLA strengthened the dictatorship of the proletariat in Albania. Because of the degeneration of the dictatorship of the proletariat in the Soviet Union, because of the destruction of socialism by the revisionists it was very important for the whole communist world movement to defend the proletarian dictatorship in Albania. To strengthen the ideological revolutionary front is necessary as long as the class struggle increases. The revolutionarization of class struggle under socialist conditions was one of the main tasks of the Congress. The struggle was directed against bureaucratism and technocratism. Enver Hoxha stressed that the democratic struggle against bureaucratism is a struggle of vital importance for the development of socialism:

„Without socialist democracy there is no dictatorship of the proletariat, and the other way round there is no genuine democracy without the dictatorship of the proletariat“ (Enver Hoxha, report on the 6th Congress of the PLA). Enver Hoxha said that the working class „must not only be conscious about her role as the decisive productive force, but also about her political role as the vanguard-class of our society“.

„Our working class,“ says Comrade Enver Hoxha, „is in command and it has all the means and all the possibilities to build a classless society, to build socialism and communism. But to be able to carry out these tasks, it must first temper itself, and then temper the masses according to its example“.

„In our country the working class is in power, leading through the Party and the proletarian state the whole life of the country. Its leading and controlling role is decisive. Without this role there is no dictatorship of the proletariat, there is no socialism“ (Enver Hoxha).

„The masses must have the right to elect their responsible leaders. The masses must have the right to replace them, the masses must have the right to know now to control every step, even the smallest step in their activity“ (Enver Hoxha, Works, vol. 27, p. 233-234).

One of the most important tasks of the strengthening of the dictatorship of the proletariat is the military defence of the socialist Homeland. According to the directives given by Enver Hoxha in 1970, military defence is the task of the whole people under the leadership of the proletariat. The people`s army is only one part of the armed people, however the fatherland has to be defended by the whole people. Enver Hoxha called the army „an army of the people, an army of the revolution, an army of the dictatorship of the proletariat, an army which is connected with the armed people:

„The Party is and will always be the soul of the army, the brain that leads the army on its right course, is the vital force that makes the army invincible. In our army, at the top of our defence, the Party commands the weapons“ (Enver Hoxha, report, f.137).

The 6th Congress of the PLA demonstrated its resoluteness to step forward with the ideological and cultural revolution uninterruptedly.

„To do not struggle with all our might means: stopping the revolution half-way“ (Enver Hoxha, report, f. 142).

Enver Hoxha emphasized:

„We face bourgeois and revisionist misconceptions and ideas with Marxist-Leninist conceptions. The old mentality of the petty-bourgeoisie will be opposed by our new socialist way of thinking. The appearances of bourgeois and petty-bourgeois individualism and bourgeois and petty-bourgeois ignorance we put up opposition by socialist spirit of collectivism and socialist solidarity. We stand opposite to bourgeois liberalism and patriarchal conservatism by our solid progressive spirit. We take measures to make sacrifices and activities for the practical forthcoming , modesty and self-discipline against the tendency of laziness and arrogance“ (Enver Hoxha, report, f. 152).

Concerning the leading role of the Party Enver Hoxha taught us:

„that the leading role of the Party will not be minimized by the further development and consolidation of socialism. In the contrary, the leading role has to be strengthened and completed furthermore“ (Enver Hoxha, report, f. 163). „The improvement of the leading, educational, organizational and mobilizational role of the Party on a higher stage is always necessary, is a permanent task of vital importance“ (Enver Hoxha, report, f. 163).

„The fundamental unit of the party is not only its meeting, but the whole activity of the communist members, each for himself and all together, before, during and after each meeting (...).“

Enver Hoxha explained in his report delivered on the 6th Congress of the PLA:

„that each communist takes part actively at the planning and transformation of the party line, that he has to criticize lacks and that he has to be self critically towards his own weakness“ (Enver Hoxha, f. 174). „The whole activity of the Party`s organizations and that of the communists has to be controled by the working class and the working masses.. This is a question of principle importance to avoid that the Party comes off the class and the masses, to make sure that the Party will be revolutionary until the end and serve to the people faithfully“ (Enver Hoxha, f. 176).

The 6th Congress of the PLA appealed to struggle against imperialism and revisionism and called the American imperialism the „world enemy No 1“. Enver Hoxha urged that the struggle against the American imperialism is „the highest duty of the revolutionary forces of today“ and that this „is a touchstone for all political forces all over the world“ (Enver Hoxha, f. 83). Enver Hoxha pointed out that for the peoples and for the world revolution „the young Soviet-revisionist imperialism is as dangerous, as malicious, and the same aggressive enemy as the American imperialism“ (Enver Hoxha, f.84).

„The growth of the revolutionary forces and revolutionary upsurge in the world – comrade Enver Hoxha stressed at the 6th Congress of the PLA – showed that, despite the great and feverish effort to turn back the wheel of history, imperialism and revisionism have not been and will never be able to change the general balance of forces which is more and more tipping on the side of the revolution. Historic initiative has definitely passed into the hands of the working class and the peoples. The road of the development of the present-day human society os opened and determined by the revolution“ (Enver Hoxha, Report to the 6th Congress of the PLA, p. 13-14)

Enver Hoxha condemned the welcoming of Nixon in Peking by the Chinese revisionist leaders in a letter sent by the CC of the PLA in August 6, 1971.

„You cannot rely and lean on the one imperialist to struggle against the other“ (Enver Hoxha, report, f. 88).

„The ideological struggle against revisionism is always acute, is always of first importance and has to be continued permanently until the very end, until the final destruction of revisionism“ (Enver Hoxha, report, f. 86).

Comrade Enver Hoxha pointed out that without exposing and combating revisionist demagogy and betrayal one cannot hope to win in the struggle against imperialism and advance world revolution.

The 6th Congress of the PLA welcomed all the new Marxist-Leninist Parties all over the world and pointed out that their support would be „ a first ranking internationalist duty“ (Enver Hoxha, report, f. 201). He promised to support the young parties with all his might. The foreign delegations had been of „great encouragement and inspiration“ (Enver Hoxha, report, f. 201).



Enver Hoxha

17 October 1971

For Enver Hoxha the further strengthening of the unity of the Marxist-Leninist movement was always an absolute necessity in face of the co-ordinated activity of the imperialists and the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat and the peoples. Enver Hoxha defended the interests of the world revolution and the struggle of the peoples for national and social liberation, and was his whole life a staunch fighter in the struggle against imperialism, modern revisionism and the counter-revolutionary collusion between their chiefs. This unflinching struggle of Enver Hoxha enhanced the authority of the PLA in the international communist movement and the prestige of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania in the eyes of the Marxist-Leninist Parties all over the world.



Enver Hoxha. During the 6th Congress of the PLA

November 1971

Comrade Enver Hoxha taught:

„In our time, we do not need to copy the revisionist pseudo-socialisms and not to discover new `– isms` of socialism. Socialism exists and develops in theory and practice. Socialism has rich historical experience, concentrated in the Marxist-Leninist theory, which is proved by the vital energy of the practice. Applying to the scientific theory under the conditions of each country the revolutionary forces shall find their correct way to socialism“ (Enver Hoxha, report, f. 199).

„The working class – comrade Enver Hoxha said at the 6th Congress of the Party – inspite of the changes the present-day capitalist world has undergone is deprived of any kind of ownership over the means of production, of its management, organisation and aim. The socalled `consumer society` has not been created to fulfill the needs of the workung people, but to intensify their eploitation and to increase the profits of the capitalists“.

The 6th Congress of the PLA with comrade Enver Hoxha at the head defended the purity of Marxism-Leninism, defended communism, strengthened the world movement of the Marxist-Leninists, resisted the class-enemies and coped with all difficulties and hindrances to built up completely the socialist society.

Enver Hoxha considered profound understanding of the line and directives of the Party by the working masses as decisive. He gave a series of orientations about the analysis of decisions of the Congress among the people, in the Party organizations at the base, and among the working collectives in town and country-side. In his talks and meetings with leading cadres of the Party, the state and the economy, with workers and peasants, with the people, he gave extreme importance to clear explanation of the policy of the Party at home and abroad and its program for the development not only of the whole country but also of each district, region and city. This activated the reactionary elements inside and outside the country and it was not by chance that the class struggle aggravated. In such difficult situation it was Enver Hoxha who approved to be the strong steersman of the PLA and the dictatorship of the proletariat as well as the defender of the Albanian people – and this uninterruptibly from the very beginning when he became the leader of the antifascist liberation struggle . Enver Hoxha was an eyesore to the revisionists – a an acute danger for the whole imperialist-revisionist world when the revisionist attempts failed to break the bones of Albania in the 60`s. The 6th Congress of the PLA was a manifestation of the resoluteness to rebuff and brand revisionism.

„The working class is permanently at class struggle. (...) the Party has to be at the forefront unconditionally (...) Otherwise we would become `Lords` and `commanders`. (Here we have to do with a great leninist principle, which were never violated and wil never be violated. Marxism-Leninism teaches us, that the communists have to treat partyless elements like themselves, that they have to give confidence to them like brothers... “ (Enver Hoxha, speech delivered at the Plenum of the Comitte of the Party in the Mat district, February 6, 1972).



Enver Hoxha

Speaking at the meeting of the Plenum of the Committee of the PLA of the Mat district

February 1972

In the speech he delivered at the Plenum of the Committee of the Party of the Mat district (February 1972), Enver Hoxha dealt theoretically with the dialectical relationship between the working masses and the revolutionary party of the working class in the stage of the complete construction of socialist society, linking it closely with the practice of socialism in our country. Comrade Enver Hoxha put forward a series of important ideas about enhancing the role of the masses in the economic, political and ideological life of our society. While affirming the decisive principle of the leading role of the Party in the revolution and the construction of socialist society, he stressed the necessity of ever wider, more tangible and more direct participation of the masses in determining the line of the Party and the state and applying it in practice. He presented as a major demand of the time the enhancement of the role of the masses, of the elected organs of the state, the establishment of correct ratios between communists and non-communists in the central organs of the state, the bringing of more workers into the forums and organs of the Party and the state, and the strengthening of the control of the masses over cadres and leading staff. The important ideas which Enver Hoxha put forward in his speech of February 26, 1972 gave a fresh impulse to the work of the Party and the state and the enthusiasm of the working masses. They constituted a new contribution to the struggle against bureaucracy.



Enver Hoxha - celebrating Children's Day

June 13, 1972

Enver Hoxha's life of class – struggle did not confine himself to hunting revisionists, but to participate the socialist celebrations of the working class and the people. The month of June begins with a lovely celebration, Children's Day. The streets echo with their happy voices and amongst them one feels the atmosphere when Uncle Enver is amongst them. How many times he has been amongst children, taking part in their joy and songs! These children, who sang and danced before Uncle Enver, will never forget June 13, 1972, not because a life in art begins for one of them on this day, but because she felt the kind hands of Uncle Enver on her head, because she flung her arms around his neck and kissed him hard.

The visit to Korça in August 1972 reflects Enver Hoxha's desire to be among the working people, to talk personally with them as frequently as possible. Visits to this city had a special atmosphere for him. He frequently went to this important economic and cultural centre of our country on Party or state business, as well as on holiday. After meetings and talks about the major problems that concerned him, he liked to stroll in the streets of the city where he had spent a part of his youth and to meet his friends and comrades of those years.

Enver Hoxha's visits to different districts and cities of the country were a great joy for the people. His participation on celebrations of the marked events were part of the sincere, warm, open communication which he maintained with the masses to the last days of his life. Wherever he went, irrespective of the set aim of his visit or stay, whether for a working meeting, to take part in events in the life of the country or on vacation, he always went beyond this limit in order to see as much as possible, to visit people in their homes, to see a project that was being built or a working collective. This concerns also Enver Hoxha's visit to Shkodra, that city of patriotic, talented and industrious people, with great traditions in art and culture.

„I personally feel a satisfaction when I listen to music, either that of great classical and progressive composers of the world or the musical works of our composers. But to tell you the truth, the beautiful folk songs and dances please me more, with their emotions, their beauty, their power and at the same time, their simplicity. I don't say this simply because of the fact that I am an Albanian. No, but because our folk songs and dances are truly beautiful, very beautiful. In raising all this unique wealth which we have inherited from the past to a pedestal and perpetuating it, our Party has done a great deed“.

„Our people have always been optimistic. Both in their sorrows and in their joys, they have never lost their faith in the future, and this optimism, this majesty of the people, has been perpetuated in the rich heritage of oral literature, in the songs, the dances, the costumes and the other marvellous traditions. This is something magnificent which only the genius of the people can achieve perfectly in art“ (Enver Hoxha).

There were radical transformations achieved during the 30 years of the people's power. In the course of three decades our country underwent unprecedented all-round development in industry and agriculture, in education and culture, and especially, in its people. The Party and Enver Hoxha were the great designers of this development which strengthened the Homeland. The years of socialism are years of work and efforts, victories and sacrifices for the sake of the people's happiness.

The Albanian people celebrated the 30th anniversary of Liberation with confidence in the line of the Party, that inexhaustible source which rejuvenates people and inspires them to greater victories, are the foundation stone of its advance. This has been and always will be the source of the progress of Albania, and its confidence in a brighter future.

1973

The year 1973 began with a significant event:

the formation of the Academy of Sciences. The participation of Enver Hoxha in this marked event in the history of the Albanian culture was a symbol of his participation as leader of the Party and a great personality of our science and culture in all the unimaginable cultural development and advance of socialist Albania. In less than three decades of their history, our people had caught up whole centuries of backwardness, ignorance and darkness. Now, Albania had its own science and scientists who led an army of specialists in the most varied fields. The formation of the Academy of Sciences of the PRA was another act which confirmed the great transformations which the epoch of socialism had achieved in Albania. But all this could not be achieved without hard class-struggle.

At the beginning of the 1970s as the result of the increased enemy efforts to overthrow the socialist order in Albania through peaceful ideological aggression, signs appeared of the encouragement of modernist trends in literature, music and figurative arts. Attempts were noticed to spread a liberal spirit, not only in art, but also in the economy, the school, the youth, the way of life. In January 1973, in a speech delivered at the meeting of Presidium of the People's Assembly, Enver Hoxha drew attention to these phenomena and underlined the danger of underrating them. On March 15, at the meeting of the communists of the apparatus of the CC of the PLA, he delivered the speech, How Should the Imperialist-Revisionist Encirclement be Understood and Combated, in which he showed the sources and causes of such manifestations and stressed the danger of losing vigilance towards the class enemy in the conditions when the people's state power has been established.

Consequently, these new directives of the Party gave also fresh impulse to those liberalist and sectarian elements who thought that this mass-line of the Party would open doors for them. However the struggle against these elements strengthened the deepening of the mass-line of the Party, strengthened the control of the partyless masses who represent the majority of the people, strengthened the unity of the Party with the class and the masses, exposed the hostile party-group of F. Paçrami and T. Lubonja. Enver Hoxha led the class struggle against the violation of socialist moral victoriously. Hostile elements who tried to take advantage of the weaknesses in the struggle against revisionism, who wanted to take advantage of the imperialist and revisionist encirclement of Albania – they were all not given any chance. When the Chinese leaders began with reconciliation with the American imperialists, when the revisionists began with reconciliation with world imperialism on an international scale, Albania withdrew this streaming, resisted the revisionist influence from outside and inside and baffled the plans of the class enemies. Enver Hoxha noticed that the world bourgeoisie always tries to take advantage of some weaknesses of the people to influence them demagogically, to make them believe that following the world bourgeoisie would help the people to solve their problems. So, comrade Enver Hoxha did not only defend Marxism-Leninism against revisionism in a world's scale, but he led also the class struggle against revisionism in his own country, within the Party and within all the mass organizations of the Party. He transformed and widened the class-struggle into a mass – struggle by the mass-line of the PLA.

„If we lead the active struggle against different appearances of conservatism then we may not fall into liberalism, we may not lose vigilance to the present destructive influences of the bourgeois ideology and culture. We may not attach little value to these influences, we may not take a passive attitude, but struggle resolutely and with revolutionary passion“ (Enver Hoxha, contribution to the discussion on the session of the Presidency of the People's Meeting, January 9, 1973)

Man is bold, comrade Enver Hoxha explained during the session of the Presidency of the People's Assembly, if he manage to understand completely, what he has to defend, namely that which he has created by himself with his blood, sweat and tears. Credulity, concessions, liberalist behaviour, reduction of vigilance and euphoria are all grist to the mill of the class enemy.

Enver Hoxha led the class struggle in both directions, against liberalism as well as conservatism, against opportunism as well as sectarianism. This was the only way to prevent the Party from being taken by surprise. (Enver Hoxha, speech of March 15, 1973,

“How do we have to understand the imperialist-revisionist encirclement and how do we have to combat it?”

The 4th Plenum of the CC of the PLA (June 1973) attacked the hostile activity of anti-party elements in ideology and culture. In the report which Comrade Enver Hoxha delivered he showed the aims of these activities, analysed the ideological and political content of liberalism, and stressed its danger for the Party and the socialist state. The defeat of this hostile activity gave a powerful impulse especially to the development of art and culture and strengthened their popular and socialist content.

Liberalism, „however and wherever it may appear, is in essence expression of ideological and political opportunism, is negation of consequent class struggle“ (Enver Hoxha, speech on the 4th Plenum of the CC of the PLA, June 26 -28, 1973).

On the 4th Plenum Enver Hoxha criticised that the struggle cannot be reduced by lectures, conferences and slogans. The ideological struggle is rather a struggle in all branches, concerns every problem and task in politic, economy, ideology, society, culture and last not least: military :

The wave of class struggle widened and increased. The destruction of the traitors within the army strengthened the defence of the Albanian country.

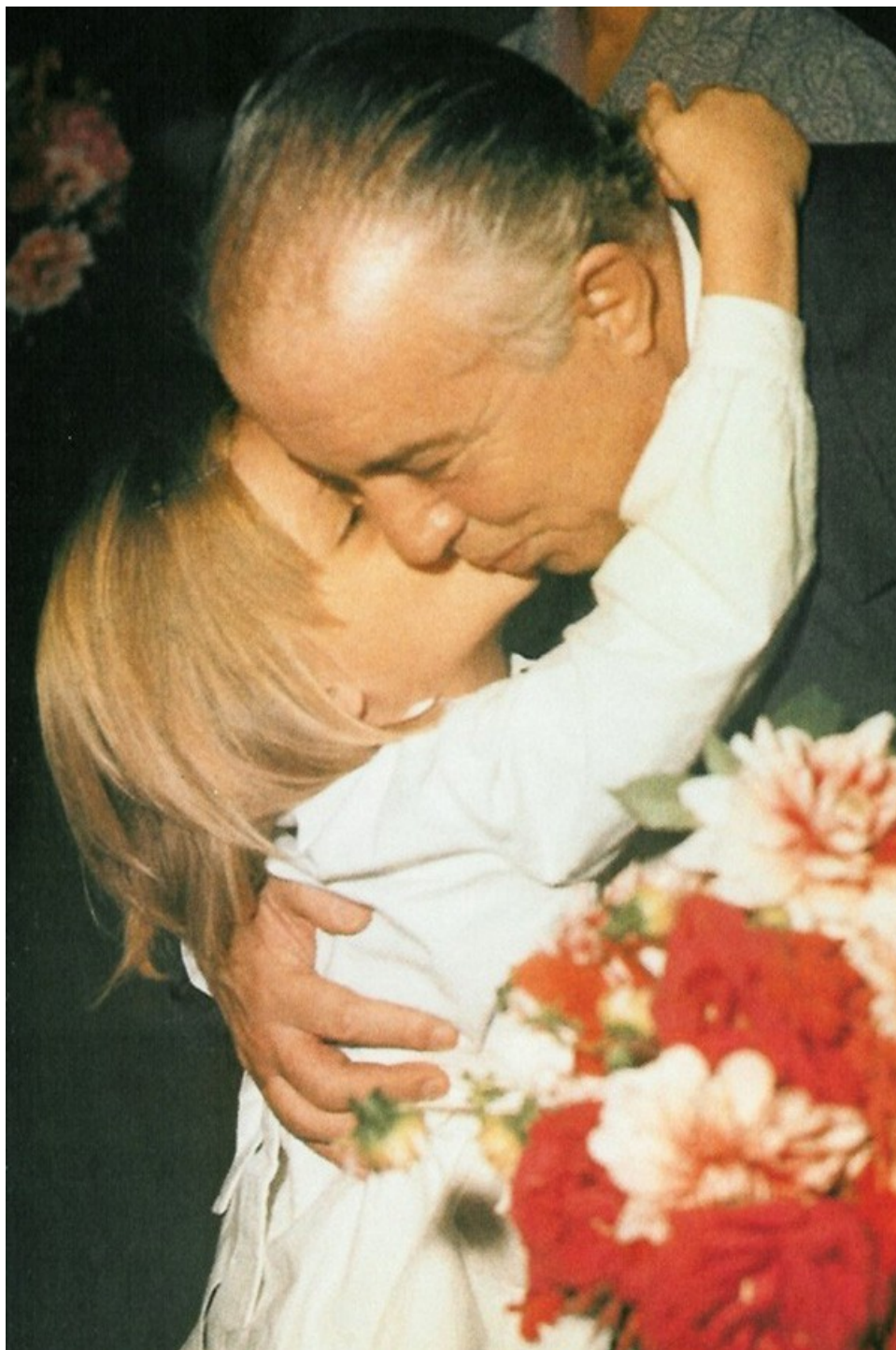


**"The experience shows that we must judge our revolution and progress
by the revolution and the progress of the woman."**

**Enver Hoxha participating at the
Women's Congress in 1973**



**In October 1973 Comrade Enver Hoxha and Hysni Kapo
participated at the Folklore Festival in Gjirokastra**



Enver Hoxha - October 16, 1973

65th Birthday

1974



In honour of the 30 anniversary of Liberation

October 1974 at the "Qemal Stafa" Stadium



"Comrade Enver Hoxha"

Oil Painting of Zef Shosi

**dedicated to the 30th anniversary of liberation and victory of the people's
revolution**



Enver Hoxha. Meeting with voters, Tirana, October 3, 1974

In 1974 the Party had a deal with this extremely dangerous hostile activity which was intended to weaken the armed forces and the defence of the country, with the aim of organizing a military putsch for the overthrow of the people's state power. Taking advantage of the functions in the Party, the state organs and especially in the Ministry of People's Defence, the leaders of the enemy group had been working secretly for years to distort and sabotage the military line of the Party. The „theoretical military theses“ worked out by them openly opposed this line. They were founded on defeatism, avoidance of frontal resistance to an aggressor and allowing the occupation of the country. The discovery of these theses prepared in secrecy was the first signal of this organized activity. Under the guidance of Enver Hoxha, the leadership of the Party thoroughly analysed the content and aims of the enemy theses. Enver Hoxha's analyses and conclusions gave a precise orientation for the discussions and analyses which were conducted in the Party. Gradually, the aims and the names of the members of this dangerous group were uncovered and proved with facts. The enemy group consisted of B. Balluku, the Minister of People's Defence, P. Dume, Chief of the General Staff and H. Çako, Chief of the political board of the armies directors. To realize their criminal intentions this group got support from abroad. They re-activated the former connection to the Soviet revisionists and in the same time they were in contact with the Chinese revisionist leaders whose plans were to confine the defence of Albania to a partisan warfare against the military encirclement. The Chinese revisionist leaders were the creators of the „*theoretical military theses*“ which were assigned to join to a military alliance with the revisionist Yugoslavia and Rumania. These plans were already worked out by Zhou Enlai in 1968. and accepted by Balluku during his visit in China. These counterrevolutionary theses were directed against the military line of the Party and opened doors and gates for potential invaders by the liquidation of the leading role of the Party and by the elimination of the revolutionary character of the People's Army which was educated in the spirit of the revolution and socialism. By the elimination of the Party and a putsch the imperialist and social imperialist aggression from outside should be initiated. All these conspiracies were uncovered by Enver Hoxha in his speech delivered on the Political Bureau of the CC of the PLA October 10, 1974 as well as in his speech

„Sweep off the hostile activity of B. Balluku with the iron broom!“ , delivered October 14, 1974, in presence of the most important cadres of the armed forces. After 6 month intensive class struggle the *6th Plenum of the CC* which met December 16 and 17, 1974, stroke the balance and presented the results of the discussion.



Enver Hoxha.

Speaking on the final meeting of the 6th Plenum of the CC of the PLA

December 17, 1974

„Nothing can harm our socialist country if the Party is on her guard, steelhard, vigilant and intrepid. Nothing can harm our country if the Party is still what she is, namely the `organized vanguard of the working class`.“ (final speech on the 6th Plenum of the CC of the PLA).

It came out that the enemy group attempted to change the revolutionary army into a bourgeois-revisionist army of barrack-yard. The directives of Enver Hoxha on the armed people were sabotaged. The soldiers got „black study materials instead of the works of comrade Enver Hoxha. Their plans were to conquer the power and to restore capitalism in Albania by an armed putsch. The 6th Plenum of the CC called the hostile group at the head of the army „the most dangerous hostile group in the whole history of the Party and the country, but simultaneously „*the most extraordinary victory of socialism in Albania*“, „*the rescue of the freedom and independence of our people!*“ (letter of the CC of the PLA to inform the working people about the conspiracy of the enemy group Balluku, Dume and Çako, December 1974). The intensified political and ideological Marxist-Leninist education of the cadres of the army was very successful and vigilance rose permanently to be prepared for the people's war to defend the socialist country.

„The imperialist and social-imperialist enemies make efforts to frighten us with their mighty weapons. But the real power is not the amount of the soldiers or the quantity or the nature of the weapons. History has proved, that a country and a people, who fight for their right resolutely and who defend themselves until the end, are invincible, no matter how small they and their inferior weapons would be. There is no stronger army than the armed and militarily skilled people and there is no sharper weapon than the people's war in whose fire every aggressor will be destroyed and burnt.. Our Party and our people were never intimidated by threats as well as never betrayed by adulations of pacifist demagogy. The enemies shall never overwhelm our people. (...) Party, people and army is at one and undividable“ (Enver Hoxha, „Our politics is an open politics, the politics of proletarian principles“, electoral assembly - speech on October 3, 1974).

This revolutionary struggle against hostile elements was successfully continued in the economic sector.

1975

On February 11, 1975 comrade Enver Hoxha emphasized in his message to the *7th Congress of the Labour Union of Albania*:

„Whenever the Party set a task und marked new plans for the upbuilding of socialism, the working class always played the decisive role for its realization in words and deeds. This is not by chance. It is that class who leads the revolution and the construction of the new socialist society to the victory by its consciousness and its high revolutionary spirit, by its creative force and its unselfish work“ (quotation from „Albania Today“).

From the very beginning Enver Hoxha cared about the principled Marxist-Leninist fundament of the labour union as an important lever of the Party, as a chain of the proletarian dictatorship, as a transmission belt connecting the Party with the working masses as a „school of communism. On the 6th Congress of the PLA it was Enver Hoxha who explained why it is necessary to combat the revisionist influences within the Labour Union. This means that Enver Hoxha relied on the working class and the Labour Union in the struggle against the class enemies in the economic sector who opened door and gate for the imperialists and revisionists to liquidate the socialist economic system with the aim to subordinate Albanian economy under the capitalist markets. Most of the traitors were discovered, exposed like Abdyl Këllezi, K. Theodhosi and K. Ngjela. But there were others who appeared openly inly when Enver Hoxha was dead. So Adil Çarçani were one of the elements of Ramiz Alia`s neo-revisionist Clique. He was one of the initiators of the restoration of capitalism in the economic sector of Albania. He then , in 1975, was the Vice Chairman of the Council of the Ministers and met Zhou En-lai in China (-not only -!) to sign several treaties. It came out on the *4th, 5th, 6th and 7th Plenum of the CC of the PLA* that there was a cooperation between the outer and inner enemies. All the inner enemies were in this or that way agencies of the outer enemies – no matter directly or indirectly.

In his speech

„The writers and artists are helpers of the Party for the education of communist people“ , comrade Enver Hoxha said:

„We may not believe that people get immune against all sorts of „sickness“ just by rising the material standard of living. Simultaneously the Party has to develop the revolutionary ideology of the society, the revolutionary ethics, customs, attitudes and feelings and philosophy which don't allow the restoration of petty-bourgeois and bourgeois ideology“ (quotation from „New Albania“, 1, 1975, page 3).

The campaigns of this class struggle began with the initiative of Enver Hoxha which can be proved in his speeches „On the revolutionalization of the Party and the state power“, „the working class control“, „The masses builds up socialism, the Party makes it conscious about it“

and especially his contributions to the 4th, 5th and 6th Plenum of the CC of the PLA. All this showed how strong the initiative and energy of the working masses developed if they follow the the line of Enver Hoxha and the PLA to combat the anti-socialist bureaucratic and revisionist elements within the economic sector.

„The cadres have their place, have their role“, Enver Hoxha emphasized, „but they are not allowed to make laws and decisions on the Party, rather the Party and the class have to make laws and decisions on the cadres (...) The cadres must struggle for the revolution all his life long. He must stand to the revolution allone and among the others. This must be a law, otherwise the cadres get moulded and mildewed in petty bourgeois manners as to be supercilious, arrogant and careeristic“ (contribution on the Session of the Secreteriat of the CC of the PLA, March 26, 1975).

To take the pattern of his speech in Mati (February 1972): , „If the class speaks, then the bureaucracy keeps silent!“) Enver Hoxha critisized and combated the anti-Marxist elements of the cadres:

„The cadres ... must firstly be educated by the school of the working class“, Enver Hoxha taught. „If the cadres don't pass this school of that class they will be worthless. A cadre who is is not armed with the revolutionary spirit of the class – today or tomorrow – shall be ready to stab Party and people in the back“ (Enver Hoxha, „The cadres must be educated by the school of the working class“, speech March 31, 1975).

Those cadres with kulakish, bureaucratic or liberal mentality, who are of the opinion to be unassailable and infallible, to be authorized in doing what they want and in deciding everything they want without consultation with the masses and the class „the Party“, Enver Hoxha taught

„must sack these cadres in disgrace and sweep them off of their high horse. (...) In the Soviet Union the cadres made the counter-revolution, of course the bad cadres (...) Workers control means vigilance of workers in action, means dictatorship of the proletariat in action. Workers control means, that the class is steering, it means correcting the mistakes and distortions of the burocratic staff. Workers control is unmasking and strongest condmanation of hostile activity and those, who did it. “ (Enver Hoxha, speech on the Session of the Secretariat of the CC of the PLA, April 4, 1975).

Comrade Enver Hoxha emphasized:

„The cadres with higher or high-school qualifications shall be educated by the Party ideologically and politically in first line in order to learn that they are the assistants of the working class directly or indirectly, but not their instructeurs.“

The 7th Plenum of the CC of the PLA was in session, May 26 to 29, 1975, to utter the treacherous activities and to liquidate them finally. The exposition and liquidation of the enemy`s sabotage activity, Enver Hoxha said on the Plenum: „is a great success which has to strengthen our consciosnee and confidence in the correct and saving activity of the Party, which leads us in the class struggle against the enemies while upbuilding socialism. In the light of this victory the Five Year Plan in 1975 monilized all forces of the working people. In his final speech on the 7th Plenum Enver Hoxha said:

„The vigilance of the Party, her revolutionary flair and her calmness made it possible to expose the hostile activity in its whole risk and deepness.“

In his contribution to the Secretariat of the CC of the PLA, March 28, 1975, Enver Hoxha said:

„In the way, capitalism is daily created by private property, „demands of bigger salaries rouses up, wishes of making better and higher profits, to live better than all the others, eat and dress better than all the others, becoming a bourgeois - hidden behind the mask of a party member, hidden behind communist slogans.“

The decision of the Polit Bureau of the CC of the PLA „On the further strengthening of the workers- and peasant control“, November 27, 1975, was:

„By the leadership of the PLA, by the revolutionary vanguard of the working class of our country the worker – and peasant control has to be realized on the correct way, which is not an spontaneous and anarchist action, but a through and through organized control.“

All this showed once more that the steady danger of the creation of fractional streaming and controversial lines and the beginning of revisionism within the Party of the working class always exists objectively. Simultaneously it could be seen that the communists can cope with this danger, that they can avoid controversial streaming and lines, that they can protect and strengthen the party's unity ideologically and organizationally. However, mistakes are unavoidable as long as class struggle exists between socialism and capitalism on an national and international scale. It is the aim of the struggle of the Party to avoid prevailing strange appearances, to ensure that they shall be liquidated right in time, before they can produce any damages, before they can endanger the workers' power, before they can lead to the revisionist degeneration of the Party. Especially the speeches of comrade Enver Hoxha were a helpful contribution for the political and ideological education of the working class. Between the years of 1972 and 1976 dozens of books of Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin and Enver Hoxha wer published and studied all over the country.

„The ideas, works and lessons of comrade Enver Hoxha are an inestimable good of the vital, creative and energetic Marxism-Leninism for our Party and our people. Every communist and every worker has to learn from it permanently“ (Hysni Kapo).

The first two selected works of Enver Hoxha were published in English, German, French, Spanish and Russian language consisting the time of the National Liberation Struggle and the time after the liberation of the country. The works of Enver Hoxha reflect profoundly the theoretical thinking and the revolutionary activity of the PLA. Comrade Enver Hoxha was the architect of the thinking of the PLA. He founded the Party under difficult conditions of illegality, when Albania had to suffer under the boots and terror of the fascists, when there were several splitted anti-marxist groups, when there was not yet a large working class, when the international situation for the revolution was very difficult. He was not only founding the Party, but led it victoriously until his death without any single day of interruption. Under Enver Hoxha the Albanian people were uninterruptedly in power, no revisionist degeneration, no restoration of capitalism, no military attack by the imperialist-revisionist aggressors. The works of Enver Hoxha reflect the whole history of socialist Albania. Enver Hoxha protected the PLA from all anti-Marxist elements. Trotzkyites, opportunists, factionalists, deviators, traitors, he never gave them the chance to take the lead.

The works of Enver Hoxha are also indispensable for the world proletariat, the Communist International and the Marxist-Leninist Parties all over the world to follow the heroic way of comrade Enver Hoxha and the PLA towards communism. When we have learnt the works of Enver Hoxha, how he built up socialism in Albania then we shall also learn to re-conquer and re-establish socialism not only in Albania but everywhere on earth.

The thinking and activity of Enver Hoxha are in the foundations of the foreign policy of Albania, which secured the right to pursue its own independent line in international relations, to have its own say free from any inferiority complex towards great powers. Enver Hoxha was also an active participant in applying the foreign policy of the Albanian state, with his activity as a politician, statesman, and in his numerous contacts with political and social personalities, with diplomats and people of culture from different countries, with his correspondence and with his articles and books. All this extensive activity was characterized by sincerity and adherence to principle. Enver Hoxha defended every action which served the peoples, freedom, and the revolution, while at the same time expressing his reservations and criticisms about those actions which he considered wrong or harmful. The whole foreign policy of the PSRA, worked out by Enver Hoxha and applied under his leadership, has always been a policy of just and equal relations on the basis of peaceful coexistence and mutual respect; a policy of opposing enemies of the people and support for the struggle for liberation and revolution. It is this just, sincere and principled policy which has ranked socialist Albania amongst the most progressive forces of the age.

The PLA and the PSRA did not participate the spectacle in Helsinki, organized by the two super-powers USA and Soviet Union in 1975. Enver Hoxha followed a Marxist-Leninist foreign policy. He developed this policy on the unshakable principles of the socialist state and not a foreign policy of pragmatism with unprincipled compromises which is led by momentary advantages spontaneously and by chance. Enver Hoxha was an adversary of foreign policy based on backstage at the expense of the peoples. He hated for adulations and coaxing, underhand tricks and frauds. He followed a brave policy with the voice of truth to defend the freedom of the people in the spirit of proletarian internationalism. He abominated and condemned a foreign policy of slavishness, submission and capitulation towards the arrogance and threats of the „mighty“ powers. It was largely owing to comrade Enver Hoxha that the peoples of the world sympathized, loved the internationalist position of the socialist Albanian people and admired the fearlessness of this small country concerning the predominance and encirclement of the whole imperialist-revisionist world.

On October 10, 1975, the 8th Plenum of the CC of the PLA met under the leadership of Enver Hoxha to plan the draft of the new constitution. In August 1975, in preparation of the 5th Five Year Plan, comrade Enver Hoxha visited many places in the country. For example in Korça and Pogradec.

„When I am on my way to Pogradec I stop and look at Pojska and the monument to its ten heroes. With grief, but with admiration, I recall the heroic life of our valiant partisans who, at this place, on July 16, 1943, demonstrated once again, with great force, their love for the people and the Party, demonstrated once again that they were ready to make even the supreme sacrifice for the freedom of the Homeland. The monument in the form of an arch, with an obelisk in the middle, expresses the steel unity of valiant partisans around their valiant commander. It is and always will be a source of inspiration, respect and gratitude for the present und future generations“ (Enver Hoxha).

Together with the mothers, fathers, sisters, and brothers of the fallen, the people and the Party each May 5 remember with profound respect those who fell, those who gave their youth for the Homeland, those who poured their blood into the foundations of the new Albania. Every May 5, Enver Hoxha, who all through his life retained the greatest live and respect for the fallen, was beside them, together with their mothers, fathers, sisters, and brothers. He was beside the fallen on these solemn days together with the vow of a whole people:

„Rest in peace, comrades, because we will build Albania just as you dreamed it!“

As an internationalist Enver Hoxha remembered all comrades, who fell all over the world for the revolution. He sent a telegram of condolence to the *CP Columbia /Marxist-Leninists*, whose founder and leader, comrade *Arboleda*, was murdered by the terror of the counterrevolution. Another telegram of condolence was sent to the *CP of Spain / Marxist-Leninists*, when some of their best comrades were executed by the terrorist Franco-Regime.

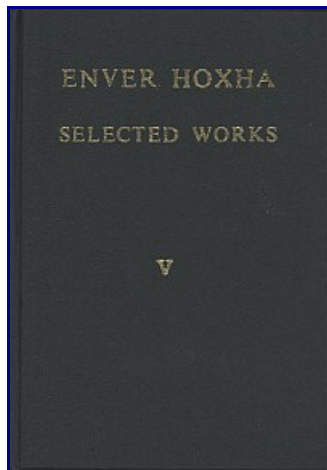
„Many outstanding fighters of the Marxist-Leninist Movement were murdered barbarously by fascist criminals who oppress the people in many countries. These fighters died through tortures of the police or still languish in dark prisons of reaction. The resoluteness, the braveness the high spirit of unselfishness and devotion of the great matter of the proletariat changed them all into bright torches of the struggle of the working masses for their national and social liberation. (...) Their pure figure and their revolutionary life shall always be a high enthusiastic example in the hearts of all upright patriots and communists, shall always be an appeal to struggle against the bloodthirsty bourgeoisie and the reaction“ (Enver Hoxha, from his report on the 7th Congress of the PLA).

In the `70ies, in several important speeches Enver Hoxha deals with a number of problems of the theory and practice of the socialist revolution. Enver Hoxha`s ideas and conclusions were a further elaboration and development of the Marxist-Leninist line of the Party in conformity with the current tasks of the socialist construction. They were an enrichment of the theoretical thinking of the PLA, a summing up of its experience in the revolution, in the socialist construction, as well as in the struggle for its defence against the hostile activity, both internal and external. The ever larger and conscious participation of the working masses in the political, ideological and economic life, the increased role of the worker and peasant control under the leadership of the Party, the deepening of the struggle against bureaucracy and technocracy, the further improvement of relations between the cadres and the working masses, the strengthening of the leading role of the Party in every link of the life of the country, were some of the main questions of which Enver Hoxha laid stress in this period. His conclusions and the practical activity of the Party were of major importance for preserving the socialist order, for the country`s advance in all fields. They were at the foundation of the measures the Party took in these years for the further revolutionalization and democratization of the socialist state, the eradication of bureaucracy, the development and strengthening of the defence of the country. The 70 ies were years of heavy class- struggles with the result that Albania resisted any attempts of the inner and outer enemies to smash socialism and to restore capitalism. The period between the 6th and the 7th Congress of the PLA was a period of consolidation of the Marxist-Leninist Forces with Enver Hoxha at the head.

Albania proved to the world that socialism at power is stronger than all revisionists of the world at power. The anti-revisionist struggle against the inner and outer enemies strengthened the forces in the country of Albania. Albania - with comrade Enver Hoxha at the top - became the pioneer of the world revolution's continuation by the efforts against all those revisionist forces who were responsible for the descent of the Comintern, for the weakening and splitting of the world revolutionaries' unity after the death of comrade Stalin. It was between the 6th and the 7th Congress of the PLA when Albania came off as the country which led the international Marxist-Leninist Movement in the struggle against modern revisionism as the new center and the new lever of the world revolution. The voice of the world revolution came from Albania. The voice of the capitalist-revisionist world counter-revolution was more and more directed and concentrated against socialist Albania with Enver Hoxha at the head.

The period between the 6th and the 7th Congress of the Party proved again that the existence of the Marxist-Leninist Party and its leading role are always the chief source of the forces of the system of the proletarian dictatorship, the main course of the revolution, the upbuilding of socialism and the defence of the socialist homeland. However, also the enemies who intended to degenerate the dictatorship of the proletariat, were aware of this fact, and so they concentrated their main battle against the Marxist-Leninist Party and her leading role with the aim to weak her and to liquidate her. All the plenary meetings of the CC of the PLA between the 6th and 7th Congress were therefore concentrated on the liquidation of the hostile elements and the destruction of their underground activities. In theory and practice comrade Enver Hoxha struggled successfully for the strengthening and completion of the Party's leading role as the key problem of the revolution and its victory over the counterrevolution.

1976



"Selected Works"

VOLUME V

(1976 - 1980)

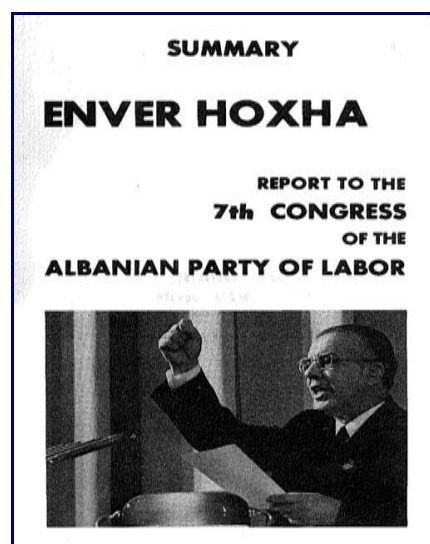
- The Year of the most significant 7th Party Congress of the PLA

The year 1976 was the year of the *7th Congress of the Party* (November 1 – 7), of the new socialist constitution, of the 35th anniversary of the foundation of the CPA on November 8, 1941, and of the beginning of the 6th Five-year-Plan – the key of the economic fundament of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the economic fundament of the victory over the capitalist-revisionist world. The Party set great tasks and opened up brilliant perspectives for the all-round progress of the country. The increased role of the masses in the socialist construction, the steel unity of the people round the Party, the fulfilment of the greatest tasks of the time, these were some of the themes which were trashed out in Enver Hoxha's meetings with the people, with the working masses, at this period.



Enver Hoxha - report to the 7th Congress of the PLA

November 1 - 7, 1976



Report 7th Congress PLA

1976 (Summary)

The report which Enver Hoxha delivered in November 1976 on behalf of the Central Committee, a very important document in the life of the Party and the country and a contribution of the PLA to the creative development of Marxism-Leninism, summed up the experience of the Party and the working masses in this period. The 7th Congress of the Party of Labour of Albania approved the ideological and political activity of the Central Committee against opportunist trends and theories. It set the task for the further deepening of this struggle in defence of the scientific theory of the proletariat. While re-emphasizing the great danger of the Soviet, Titoite, Eurocommunist and other variants of modern revisionism, Enver Hoxha dwelt especially on analysis of the anti-Marxist Chinese theory of „three worlds“ and the concepts which fostered it. With the 7th Congress of the PLA comrade Enver Hoxha began the open class struggle against Chinese revisionism.

The report which Enver Hoxha delivered at this Congress included the fundamental directions of the economic, cultural and social development of the country during the 6th Five-year-Plan. He stressed once again the determination of the Party and the Albanian people to press ahead ceaselessly on the course of the construction of socialism by applying the Marxist-Leninist theory and relying on their own forces, on the material and spiritual resources of the Homeland and the energies, talent and revolutionary enthusiasm of the masses.

„The great results and victories obtained by the people under the leadership of the Party in the struggle for the continuation of the revolution and the establishment of socialism“, comrade Enver Hoxha said in his report, „are connected with the Party`s line of class struggle as well to the outer as the inner enemies, among the people and within its own party ranks.“

„The establishment of socialism is a process of mighty class struggle between two ways, the socialist and the capitalist one.“

„The essence of class struggle, the key-problem was and is until the victory of communism, the question of state power, the dictatorship of the proletariat.“

„One of the main factors which made it possible for our Party to ensure the leading role and the hegemony of the working class as firm as a rock, is her steely ideological and organizational unity during her whole life.“

The 7th Congress itself was a bright manifestation of such unity. From the very beginning until the death of comrade Enver Hoxha one heart was beating, one brain was working, one line was developed, the consequent line of Marxism-Leninism, based on the generalization of revolutionary experience during the establishment of socialism and the defence of the Albanian Homeland.

Class struggle can only be successful, difficulties can only be managed, mistakes can only be corrected by the Marxist-Leninist unity of the Party. And the 7th Congress was characterized by this unity:

„A Marxist-Leninist Party, which considers to be a genuine one, cannot allow the existence of two lines within the Party, cannot allow one or more fractions. Even their came up some appearances, the Party cannot and may not allow that they exists even for a short time.“

With this comrade Enver Hoxha defended the Bolshevik line of Lenin and Stalin against the revisionist theory of the „*struggle of two lines*.“ With the 7th Congress the PLA began carefully to sever Chinese revisionist influence. Until the 8th Congress the PLA got down with the problem of Chinese revisionism and dissociated completely from Mao Tsetung Ideas, annulled totaly the cooperation with the Chinese leaders. This was a long lasting, difficult and complicated process of defending Marxism-Leninism against revisionism. Enver Hoxha could not support Chinese revisionism in the struggle against the most dangerous revisionist enemy – the Soviet revisionists. Who is more dangerous? Stalin taught, that those anti-Marxist streaming is most dangerous which the working class ignored and failed to defeat right in time. The revolutionalization of the struggle against Chinese revisionism was epoch making. The present-day struggle against Maoism and Neo-Maoism is mainly based on the teachings of Enver Hoxha especially in his creative period between 1975 and 1985.

All previous Marxist-Leninist parties who degenerated and who became revisionist departed from Marxist-Leninist principles and allowed contrary lines and anti-Marxist, factional streaming to do mischief or they were not able to combate and liquidate them. Within the PLA – during the life time of Enver Hoxha – the revisionists could not openly put down roots, could not come to power, could not liquidate the PLA - although there were many enemies traitors and dangerous hostile groups and elements. They were liquidated before they could organize a factional center within the Party - just as F. Paçrami and T. Lubonja, B. Balluku, P. Dume and H. Çako, A. Këllezi, K. Theodhosie und K. Ngjela . So their subservice activities were organized illegally.

„The Party did never neglected patiently conviction and enlightenment towards those who betrayed the Party and those who followed an hostile path against Party and people. However, if the cup were filled to the brim and if the facts were clear then the Party purified herself from these elements without any hesitation. Undercover groups had to surrender to the court., and this cost some of them their head.“

This was a deep Marxist-Leninist attitude, namely to practice the dictatorship of the proletariat by force against the class enemies. The 7th Congress protected the Party and the country from subordination under this or that international revisionist influence. The PLA prevented socialism in Albania from any revisionist interference. The 7th Congress stated once more:



„To strengthen the unity it is of decisive meaning that the Marxist-Leninist norms, the Marxist-Leninist line of the Party realized and practiced by every leading organ, by every party cell, by any communist in a true and revolutionary manner.“

The first question which was discussed on the 7th Congress of the PLA was the new constitution of the Socialist Albania. Measures were taken on the base of the decisions of the 6th Congress by the Central Committee, by the guide-lines of its 8th plenary meeting and by the instructions of comrade Enver Hoxha to prepare the draft of this basic law. The commission who worked out the draft of the constitution was led by comrade Enver Hoxha. The whole Albanian people participated the discussion on the draft of the constitution. Comrade Enver Hoxha pointed out that the constitution would be a juridical, political and ideological document which shall express completely the heroic way and heroic experience that fills us with enthusiasm, with optimism and that spurs us on new battles and victories.

Until today the socialist constitution of Albania - which was based on the Marxist-Leninist principles of Stalin`s constitution of 1936 – is still the most progressive, most revolutionary, the best constitution of the world in the history of mankind. To defend Enver Hoxha that means: to defend the Albanian socialist constitution which was adopted on December 28, 1976 by the People`s Assembly. In the compiling of the historic document, Enver Hoxha, who was chairman of the commission for drafting and editing the project of the Constitution, had made an outstanding contribution. All the work for the drafting, discussion and final formulation of it was carried out directly under the leadership of comrade Enver Hoxha. In the new Constitution the Albanian state was called the People`s Socialist Republic of Albania, accurately reflecting the qualitative socialist changes accomplished in Albania, in the base and the superstructure. The new Constitution of the Albanian state embodied the living reality and the trends of the historical development of socialist Albania. This fundamental document of the state of the Albanian people is pervaded by the Marxist-Leninist principles, embodies the revolutionary experience of our country, and is the work of the revolutionary thinking and activity of our Party and its leader, Enver Hoxha.

The commission under the leadership of comrade Enver Hoxha had to solve five main questions:

1. The complete revolutionary practice and its concretion by the the revolutionary line of the PLA has to be reflected by new constitution. The new constitution has to reflect the lesson of comrade Enver Hoxha:

„The key problem of the revolution was and will always be the question of state power, the dictatorship of the proletariat until the victory of communism.“

2. The new constitution should demonstrate the genuine features of socialism in demarcation line to the distortions and falsifications of the modern revisionists.

3. The new constitution of our state should be adapted to the present-day stage of the socialist development of the country.

4. The new constitution should completely express the real democratic character of the socialist society`s order.

5. The new constitution must be clear and understandable for the broad working masses.

„The historical experience has shown that the ingenious ideas of the classics of Marxism-Leninism and of the indivisible leading role of the party of the working class, of the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat, and of class-struggle are all main principles for the upbuilding of the socialist society. They have to be recognized strictly, until all inner and outer, all objective and subjective roots of the development of revisionism are completely removed, until the final victory of communism on an international scale. Led by these fundamental lessons the draft of the constitution was anchored...“

„The draft of the new constitution contains also the important idea, that Marxism-Leninism – the ideology of the working class and the party – is the prevailed ideology of the People`s Socialist Republic of Albania. This constitution`s norm, which expresses our really great historical victory, strengthens the upbuilding of socialism by Marxism-Leninism and prevents us from several theories of the modern revisionists as `ideological pluralism`, `free transfer` of reactionary ideas and cultures, weapons of the political counterrevolution followed by armed military aggression.“

Our constitution establishes firmly – clearly and distinctly - that nobody has the right to exert the sovereignty and „assistance“ for the legalization of any interference in Albania by imperialist, revisionist or other reactionary enemies (...) From the constitutional view point all actions will be canceled which legalizes the capitulation of the country.“

„The stationing of foreign military bases and foreign troops are inadmissible“ (Enver Hoxha , Report on the 5th Meeting of the People`s Assembly in the name of the commission for the preparation of the draft of the new constitution of the People`s Socialist Republic of Albania). In his report Enver Hoxha quoted some voices of the people related to the draft of the constitution: „And if we would come to the age of hundred years, if the party is calling us, we shall – without feeling the years – stand upright like our rifles, and we shall defend our home ground with the weapon in our hand.“

1. 500 000 people took part in the meetings discussing the constitution`s draft. 300 000 rose to speak – a clear mirror of really socialist democracy:

„At our home the whole socialist, state and social mechanism functions bny the principle of the democratic centralism, which is charactarized by the fact that the working class and the party of the proletarian state lead the whole life of the country centralized an which is comnined by the vreative initiative of the regional organs and the working people“ (Enver Hoxha, report on the 7th Congress of the PLA). This marxist-leninist principle is contrary to the anti-Marxist concepts which disown the proletarian centralism on the one hand and which replace the proletarian centralism by bureaucratic centralism to exclude the working people to govern the country.

„Most of the constitutions of the capitalist countries in which the terrorist dictatorship of the bourgeoisie rules, as well as the constitutions of the revisionist countries, are characterized by democratic phrases. But behind beautiful words and lame promises of `freedom`, `egality`, `justice` etc. is hidden the violence of the exploiter classes and the ruling Cliques..“ (Enver Hoxha , Report on the 5th Meeting of the People`s Assembly in the name of the commission for the preparation of the draft of the new constitution of the People`s Socialist Republic of Albania).

„The many basic laws guaranteed by the state are as well duties of the citizens as they are simultaneously an honour. It is the duty of the citizens to respect the constitution of the country and all the other laws; to strengthen and to save the socialist order; to keep the rules of the socialist community; to protect and to enlarge the socialist property; to keep a conscious attitude towards socialist labour; to defend the socialist home land (...)“

„Because all the socialist means of production are unimpeachable base of the socialist economic order, the draft of the constitution anquors the responsibility of the state in protecting this property as a norm of the constitution.“

„ We swim against the imperialist-revisionist tide. Our tide is the revolution and the smashing of the the capitalist order, whose place will be fulfilled by socialism and communism, the classless society. This order of society is the future of mankind created by class-struggle with blood and victims – but it will be created. Imperialism and social-imperialism are in a rotting process. Socialism will win. The world and mankind will be released from the imperialist and social-imperialist pestilence“ (Enver Hoxha , Report on the 5th Meeting of the People`s Assembly in the name of the commission for the preparation of the draft of the new constitution of the People`s Socialist Republic of Albania).

In his report of the CC of the PLA held on the 7th Congress of the Party Enver Hoxha entered at first in the question of the constitution:



Enver Hoxha - raising his hand for the adoption of the new constitution

at the People's Assembly on December 28, 1976

„The old constitution was that constitution to create the base of socialism while the new constitution will be the constitution of the complete upbuilding of the socialist society.“

„The new constitution is the qualitative further development of the former constitution according to the present stage of the revolution in which our country is in. (...) The aim of the constitution is to pave the way of the development of the productive forces and the production means towards genuine socialism on a most possible wide fundament; to pave the way for the emancipation and the revolutionary education of our new people; to guard and to strengthen the socialist order and the dictatorship of the proletariat and to create the best possible conditions for the onward march of communism. (...) The new constitution makes no secret of its pure class character. (...) The new constitution is the mirror of the true socialist society which is built up on the base of the teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin and which are realized and confirmed in the revolutionary practice of our country“ (Enver Hoxha, report on the 7th Congress of the PLA).

„The solidarity with the efforts of our Party to build up socialism, shared by the Marxist-Leninist brother parties, the high estimation with which they deem our Parties struggle against imperialism and social-imperialism with the Soviet at the top, against the modern revisionism and reaction, are very valuable for us and a great revolutionary encouragement. We declare to all our combatants, to all Marxist-Leninists all over the world, that their brother party, the PLA, the Albanian communists and the Albanian people shall step forward on their way of revolution and socialism, that they will not be thrown down by any threats, no matter how horrible they would be. Our Party shall fight unyieldingly and appear on the class battle field shoulder to shoulder with the Marxist-Leninist parties and genuine revolutionaries. Together we shall silence our enemies and defeat them, because all of us are led by the proletarian internationalism and Marxism-Leninism.

In his report comrade Enver Hoxha pointed out the situation in different countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America. The oppressed peoples in the different countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America have risen in struggle against imperialist and social imperialist neocolonialism and against internal reaction the pro imperialist bourgeoisie, the landlords and ,the fascist regimes, for liberation and national sovereignty, for the implementation of democratic transformations on the revolutionary road, for social progress. At the 7th Congress of the PLA Comrade Enver Hoxha pointed out that if this struggle is led by the world proletariat and its vanguard, the communist party, which is guided by the unerring theory of Marxism Leninism, it will be more resolute, unceasing and the PLA has backed up and supported with all its strength the just struggles of the peoples and revolutionary forces in these countries, because they contribute to the common cause of the revolution.

„The unity of struggle and the international proletarian solidarity of the Marxist-Leninists were and are still very valuable. We shall spare no pains to strengthen it permanently, and we are sure of the fulfillment of our internationalist duties. Our Party will never cease the fire against the plots and aggressive plans of both of the superpowers, of the bourgeoisie and revisionism, will never give up the resolute struggle for the defence of Marxism-Leninism, for the victory of communism.“

With these words comrade Enver Hoxha closed the 7th Congress of the PLA. The 7th Congress of the PLA was an internationalist impulse for several multilateral meetings and large demonstrations which strengthened the unity of the Marxist-Leninist Parties all over the world. The report of Enver Hoxha improved the unity of the Marxist-Leninist Parties and this was very important for the struggle against Maoism that were soon coming after the Congress.

Enver Hoxha emphasized: „The cooperation among our Marxist-Leninist Parties should be universal on their really revolutionary way.“

The Marxist-Leninist Parties who participated the 7th Congress got on with it and declared their cooperation - for example the delegations of the Latin American Parties:

The CP of Argentina /ML, the CP of Bolivia ML, the CP of Brasilia, the CP of Columbia / ML, the Revolutionary CP of Chile, The Marxist-Leninist CP of Equador, and the Revolutionary CP of Uruguay.

These Parties declared that the 7th Congress of the PLA has a decisive meaning for the Marxist-Leninist World Movement, that the PLA leads the banner of Marxism-Leninism in defence of revisionism, that the PLA leads the revolutionary struggle for liberation from world capitalism and for the establishment of socialism. The anti-revisionist struggle of the PLA was the best example for all Marxist-Leninist Parties in Latin America. However, the struggle against Chinese revisionism was not yet topic of that declaration. With the 7th Congress of the PLA the Marxist Leninist World Movement began to unite and to strengthen under the revolutionary anti-Maoist banner of comrade Enver Hoxha.



Enver Hoxha - closing speech to the 7th Congress of the PLA - November 1976

7th Congress of the PLA



Enver Hoxha is greeting the delegates

Long live the 7th Congress of the Party of Labour of Albania !



**The people of Albania celebrate the 7th Congress of the PLA - evening in
November 1976**

Enver Hoxha

- **the great pioneer of the correct Marxist-Leninist struggle against the Chinese revisionists and the revisionist "Mao Zedong Thought"**

To defend Enver Hoxha means therefore:

continuation of the Marxist-Leninist struggle against all branches of the revisionist Maoist World Movement and its anti-Marxist ideology of Maoism - until its complete liquidation!

Enver Hoxha analyzed the deviations of Mao and the CP of China in continuation of comrade Stalin. It was also comrade Enver Hoxha who defended Stalin against Chinese revisionism and who struggled against the anti-Stalinism of Mao Tsetung. Enver Hoxha exposed the Chinese theory of the „Three Worlds“ and the anti-Marxist Mao Tsetung Ideas. Enver Hoxha rejected the Chinese revisionist general line by which the Chinese revisionists claimed to lead the Communist World Movement unjustly. Enver Hoxha draw the necessary demarcation line between Marxism-Leninism and Maoism and condemned any reconciliation with Maoism. In his struggle against Maoism comrade Enver Hoxha distinguished himself as the outstanding leader of the Marxist-Leninist World Movement, as the defender of Socialist Albania as the center and lever of the world revolution, as the world center of the anti-imperialist and anti-socialimperialist class struggle of the world proletariat. China was never a socialist country, was never led by a genuine Marxist-Leninist party, and Marxism-Leninism was never the leading ideology of China. This is what Enver Hoxha indicated, verified and proved excellently in his works. The anti-Maoist orientation of the Communist World Movement was above all the merit of comrade Enver Hoxha. Enver Hoxha died before he could continue and complete his struggle against Maoism. After his death the revisionists in Albania paralyzed and thwarted the anti-Maoist line of comrade Enver Hoxha and stopped the anti-Maoist struggle which was then continued by the true Marxist-Leninists all over the world who defended futherhin Enver Hoxha. The present-day center of the defence of Enver Hoxha's struggle against Maoism is the Comintern (SH).

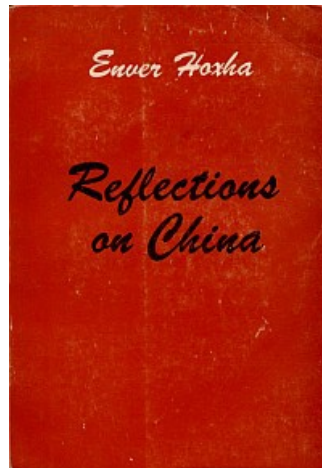
Chinese revisionism was not easy to unmask because it appeared under the mask of „Bolshevism“, under the mask of „Marxism-Leninsm“ and „Socialism“, under the mask of the „participation“ of the Comintern , and last not least under the mask of the class struggle „against“ modern revisionism. The Chinese revisionists were successfully swimming in the stream of the Communist World Movement, but only for a while. Earlier or later the truth came to day-light and no efforts of reconciliation are strong enough to get the revisionists out of a tight spot, to undo their betrayal. Rehabilitation of revisionism is a matter of neo-revisionism but not a matter of principled Marxist-Leninists as comrade Enver Hoxha was. We Marxist-Leninists do not fear the rancour of the Maoists because we call Maoism that what it is: Anti-Marxism-Leninism.

The Maoists were singing the same tune of the capitalists on occasion of Albania's break with China. They wanted to take advantage of this event by demagoguery. The Maoists still condemn this break as Enver Hoxha's path „towards restoration of capitalism“ by opening the country. This was the course of Ramiz Alia but not the course of Enver Hoxha. In the contrary, the break with China was the breaking of the Chinese chain of social-imperialism was historically necessary to liberate Socialist Albania from its imperialist and social-imperialist encirclement. The break with Maoism strengthens Marxism-Leninism while the Maoists aver just the contrary. The break with China was not a spontaneous decision but the result of a long difficult process of development in the relations of both the countries based on principled contradictions between a socialist and a revisionist country. In his meeting with Joao Amazonas (who became later a neo-revisionist renegade), on September 8, 1979 Enver Hoxha foretold:

„Our Party was and is constantly careful not to give bourgeois-revisionist propaganda occasion and possibility to tell lies about our relations to them in the world's publicity. And indeed, as I told before, all this propaganda took the same attitude in the moment of the breaking with China: With whom Albania shall cooperate after it has broken with China? Well, time will come, when the wire puller reject from this propaganda, when they – so to speak – shall resign.“

There were many corresponding attitudes between the PLA and the CP of China which were demonstrated by the many Albanian-Chinese Declarations mainly in the Sixties. However, it came out that Enver Hoxha and the PLA noticed waverings, contraventions and infringements of the Chinese friends. In a long term process of cooperation with the Chinese leaders Enver Hoxha and the PLA came to more and more critical estimations. Enver Hoxha wrote his famous political diary on the day to day changing actions of the Chinese revisionist leaders without exclusion of Mao and the Mao Tsetung Ideas. "Reflections on China" is a further proof of Enver Hoxha's unconciliatory, principled Marxist-Leninist struggle against modern revisionism. Although the Chinese leaders avoided insight into their internal and foreign policies, comrade Enver Hoxha succeeded to join together the facts dialectically and to draw the necessary conclusions which were later completely confirmed by history - namely that the alleged Chinese "anti-revisionism" was deep revisionism all along the line. Comrade Hoxha took up a principled critical stand on the "Mao Tsetung Ideas". In his lifetime Enver Hoxha could only write the two first volumes of „*Reflections on China*“ - published in 1979. So this was only his beginning of his demarcation line he draw to Maoism. It is the duty of the Marxist-Leninists to continue and to complete the work of Enver Hoxha until Maoism in theory and practice will be completely exposed. Marxism-Leninism can only be developed on Anti-Maoism which is based on a solid Marxist-Leninist ground.

At first Enver Hoxha and the PLA were of the opinion that China would follow a correct line towards socialism and handled all the contradictions which appeared between both the parties in solidarity. However, more and more they found out that the question of China was not a question of weakness and mistakes which could be overcome, but a bourgeois-revisionist line masked by "anti-revisionism". In his works Enver Hoxha pointed out that the alleged non-antagonist contradictions with the Chinese leaders came out as true antagonist in theory and practice. Let us remember some examples which Enver Hoxhas gave in the beginning of his



„Reflections on China“ (Volume 1)::

„The Chinese shake hands with Khrushchev“ – April 6, 1962;

„To withdraw from the ideological-political struggle means to let the enemy make trouble“ - April 22, 1962;

„China follows a centrist line“ June 13, 1962;

„The Chinese go in direction of reconciliation with the Khrushchevites“, July 2, 1962;

„The Chinese line demonstrates distinct tendencies of return, fear and passivity“ - June 10, 1962;

„ Concerning the tactics we have divergencies with the Chinese comrades and this we did not keep secret to them“ - December 23, 1962;

„Today the Chinese speak about Khrushchev like Khrushchev spoke about Tito yesterday“ - July 11, 1963;

„Not capitulation but struggle against revisionism“ - July 29, 1963;

„The Chinese stand on national-chauvinist positions“ - August 21, 1964;

„The Chinese make bad and inadmissible mistakes“ - September 4, 1964;

„The Chinese opened a new campaign of approaches towards the European revisionist in power“ - October 13, 1964: „The Chinese idea of an anti-imperialist front under inclusion of the revisionists is anti-Leninist“ - October 15, 1964;

„The Chinese want to force their views on us“ - November 3, 1964;

„A strong dosis of opportunism is covered behind the tactics of *`wait and see!`*“ - November 4, 1964;

„The new course of the Chinese comrades harms the communist movement“ - November 5, 1964;

„The Chinese press keeps silence on our articles and publishes the speeches of the Soviet leaders“ - November 18, 1964;

„ Opportunist tactics of the Chinese comrades“ - February 3, 1965;

„The Chinese publish the speeches of Khrushchev“ February 27, 1965;

„The cult around Mao Tsetung“ - August 9, 1966;

„Ideological deviations“ August 23, 1966;

„Theses of the unity of the Marxist-Leninist world movement“ – October 10, 1966 and „Our Party has to develop concrete connections to the Marxist-Leninist Movement“ - October 28, 1966 [concerning the „Chinese proposal of the General Line“ -published by Rinmin Ribao 1963 – annotation by the editor] ;

These and other numerous titles of articles speak volumes. However, Enver Hoxha - when writing down these notes into his diary - simultaneously uttered honest hopes and wishes that the Chinese comrades would overcome their waverings and that they would attain correct and genuine Marxist-Leninist positions.

„The PLA - based on the principles of proletarian internationalism – had defended the CP of China and the People’s Republic of China in times when they were attacked by the Khrushchevite, Titoite and other modern revisionists, as well in times of the Culture Revolution when the Chinese ultra-revisionists with Liu Shao-tschi and Deng Hsiao-ping earnestly threatened Mao Tsetung at the head of the CP of China. Simultaneously the PLA followed with sorrows the anti-Marxist attitude and activities of the Chinese leaders in many cases. The PLA has – as far as possible – uttered her critical opinions about what happened in China. We informed the Chinese leaders about our opinions whenever the opportunity presented itself. We did this in the hope that they would pave the way for a correct line. This wish is also reflected in my notes which are included in both of the volumes. Unfortunately revisionism increased in China day by day“ (Enver Hoxha, Introduction of „Reflections on China“ , May 1979).

These hopes were written down in some articles as there were:

„The Chinese comrades criticize the Soviet revisionists“ - April 10, 1962;

„Painful for those who fall into the trap of the revisionists!“ - April 14, 1962;

„The Chinese have opened the fire to modern revisionism“ - September 6, 1963;

„The Chinese comrades return to their right position towards the Soviets“ - December 1, 1964;

„Mao Tsetung prejudices a hard and right attitude against the revisionist Kossygin“ - February 13, 1965;

„Let us support the correct aims of the Culture Revolution in China“ - January 12, 1967;

„The party in China will strenghten if she removes the mistakes in her line from the very ground“ - January 5, 1967;

„Good news from China – the party shall be reorganized“ - January 19, 1968;

However, in the

2nd Volume of "Reflections on China"

comrade Enver Hoxha came to clearer and clearer conclusions on the totally counter-revolutionary character of the "Mao Tsetung Ideas", thus the roots of Chinese revisionism. This can be studied in the following examples:

"A letter of Mao Tsetung to his wife" - May 18, 1973;

"The zigzags of the Chinese line" - January 1, 1976;

"Chinese puzzle, Maoist confusion" - February 25, 1976;

"Where has China been and where is it going? - April 1, 1976; "Mao Tsetung thought" - May 28, 1976;

"The tragedy of China" - October 12, 1976;

"This is what must have happened with «The Four»" - October 23, 1976;

"The agents of China are beginning to show up" - December 16, 1976;

"Espionage agency methods to split the world communist movement" - December 25, 1976;

"Some thoughts about the Ballist «decatalogue» of Mao Tsetung - December 28, 1976;

"The Chinese strategy is suffering fiasco" - December 31, 1976;

"The Chinese revisionists are attacking the Party of Labour of Albania in an underhand way" - January 8, 1977;

"The «theory» of the «third world» ignores the class struggle" - January 25, 1977;

"The rallies of the Marxist-Leninist parties and the stand of China" - April 28, 1977;

"The «mother» party and its bastard «daughters»" - August 1, 1977;

"The echo of our article «The Theory and Practice of the Revolution» - August 3, 1977;

"A document which demonstrates our unwavering stand" [meeting with Tschou En-lai] - and: "Articles with stale «theorizing»" - August 15, 1977;

"The Chinese too, will try to maintain their «Marxist» disguise" - August 30, 1977;

"On the capital questions of Marxism-Leninism the Chinese leaders are outand-out revisionists" - September 1, 1977;

"What is the General Office in China?" - September 7, 1977;

"Revisionist manoeuvres. Anti-Marxist structure" - September 8, 1977;

"Again on the Chinese article which speaks about the theory of «three worlds»" - November 3, 1977;

"Gloomy Chinese panorama" - December 8, 1977; "The incoherence of China's foreign policy - December 18, 1977;

"We must not lose hope in the proletariat and people of China" - December 24, 1977;

and last not least the most important article: "Can the Chinese revolution be called a proletarian revolution?" - December 26, 1977;

We take notice that Enver Hoxha did not mix up the principles of Marxism-Leninism and the tactics of Marxism-Leninism concerning the struggle against Chinese revisionism. Tactics concerning China were always based on Enver Hoxha's Marxist-Leninist principles. Historically it was the merit of Enver Hoxha not to subordinate the Marxist-Leninist World Movement under Chinese revisionism.

The Chinese revisionists paralyzed the Marxist-Leninist World Movement for the purpose to split and liquidate it. Comrade Enver Hoxha wrote in "Reflections on China" (Volume 2):

The Foreign Directory of the Central Committee of the CP of China in Peking, which allegedly maintains the contacts with the international communist movement abroad, has in fact become a centre in which the plans are fabricated for splitting the genuine Marxist-Leninist parties and for the creation of new parties and groups which follow the new Chinese revisionist line. It is self-evident that these are not genuine Marxist-Leninist communist parties, but revisionist, pro-Chinese ones.(page 558) In the countries where there are genuine Marxist-Leninist parties China fabricates the so-called Marxist-Leninist communist parties to propagate the pro-imperialist, anti-Marxist, revisionist theses of Mao Tsetung's China against Marxism-Leninism, against our Party and all other genuine Marxist- Leninist parties. We Marxist-Leninists who militate in genuine Marxist-Leninist communist parties have to resist and expose this furious anti-Marxist current which uses all possible means to deceive the world proletariat.We must counterpose our revolutionary Marxist-Leninist strategy to the capitulationist, capitalist and social-imperialist strategy of Chinese revisionism. We must not nurture any hopes that the Chinese revisionists might correct themselves and, likewise, there must be no hesitation in regard to our attitude towards them. (page 559)

The Chinese revisionist party has turned, in practice, into a «mother» party and these others are its «daughters», its bastard offspring. Like «mother» like «daughter», therefore both «mother» and «daughters» must be exposed, must be routed, because all of them are united with the capitalist bourgeoisie of each individual country and the international bourgeoisie with which they hatch up villainous joint plans against the peoples, against the revolution, and in this way cause great damage. Our Party always bears in mind the example and the activity of the great Lenin, who was never an opportunist, but always had regard for the major interest of the world revolution. (page 563)

The pseudo-Marxist lackeys who have infiltrated into the ranks of some Marxist-Leninist communist parties are exalting the cult of Mao and giving him pride of place. The bourgeoisie also recognizes the value of China, of Mao and «Mao Tsetung thought», and propagates them.

Mao and «Maoism» have become one of the most serious obstacles to the unity of the world proletariat and the new Marxist-Leninist communist and workers' parties. Therefore, in everything we must counter this new disguised evil with our unerring Marxist-Leninist theory.

The Party of Labour of Albania will have to engage in open polemics with it in the interest of the proletarian revolution. (page 249 and 250).

On the platform of the struggle against our Party and against genuine Marxist-Leninist communist parties it has its sword drawn. It is gathering together and financing scabby elements everywhere, giving them the title of the «communist party», «workers' party», «liberation party», «Marxist-Leninist party». All these «parties» sing in harmony with China about the "third world" . (page 527)

By means of these so-called Marxist-Leninist parties and groups which beat the Chinese drum, China is infiltrating, planning, and adopting unity with the old revisionist parties of Western Europe as well as other continents, like Australia, etc. Indeed, the Communist Party of China has made contact with the Spanish revisionist party of Carrillo. It is said that it has made contact with the Italian revisionist party, too, and it will certainly do so with the French revisionist party. (page 514) With the Party of Labour of Albania, in reality, it does not maintain contacts. We have wanted to have contacts with the Communist Party of China but these contacts have not existed. Only diplomatic, friendship and trade relations have existed between us but not party relations. Even when our Party has sent delegations they have made visits and trips but have not been able to do the work and hold the talks, which we wanted. With the revisionists, however, the Communist Party of China is entering ever more deeply into working relations and ideological and organizational links. This is how the situation stands, this is the new tactic of the Communist Party of China on its road of revisionist degeneration. (page 515)

The Chinese do not want to reply to us directly, because they dare not enter into polemics with us. On the other hand, they use Trotskyite, inquisitorial methods, espionage agency methods, to fight our Party behind its back, to isolate us from the international communist movement and split it. This is an action which is carried out by a bourgeois, capitalist and imperialist great state. We shall fight them fiercely and triumph. (page 364 - 365)

Another «theory» is that which preaches that we must not open up a polemic at this time because this damages the international communist movement. A fine argument! Precisely like those of the time of Khrushchev. This means that we should have ceased the polemic against Soviet revisionism and modern revisionism, because with this we split the international communist movement; hence we should have left Khrushchev in peace to go on with his work. By analogy, now, when we see a similar deviation of the Chinese, according to these Chinese agents, we should not make this a world issue and should not engage in open polemics. (page 566)

«Mao Tsetung thought» is a counter-revolutionary, strikebreaking factor which has undertaken and is acting to split the revolutionary Marxist-Leninist movement, which emerged and consolidated itself in the struggle against Khrushchevite modern revisionism and other revisionist parties. The contradictions between the Khrushchevites and the Maoists are not over principles. They both are anti-Marxist, revisionist trends. The contradictions which flow from these views are based on the rivalry of two imperialist great powers, the one already formed, the other building up. We must expose the Maoists just as we exposed the Khrushchevite revisionists. (page 433)

The rallies held by the Marxist-Leninist communist parties are an encouragement to the revolutionaries, who, in the dangerous moments of the grave crisis of capitalism, see that there is the force which tells the proletariat of all countries and peoples oppressed by the superpowers, the big capitalist powers, etc., that they must always dare to fight these savage enemies of theirs fiercely, even with arms. These rallies assume an important character especially when the line of the Party of Labour of Albania is opposed to the line of the Communist Party of China on many main issues of principle. (page 479 - 480)

The defeat which the international communist movement has suffered is temporary. The mountain has to be climbed, but the proletariat will climb the mountain with the banner of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin. (page 522)

Concerning Mao and the Chinese party Enver Hoxha wrote in Reflections on China (Volume 2):

Mao Tsetung was not a Marxist-Leninist. In regard to those political, ideological and organizational views and stands which we consider to have been mistaken and non-Marxist, we have not sat and will not sit idle without pointing them out and criticizing them. Leninism teaches us that we must always be correct and objective and not subjective or sentimental.

"The Chinese leaders headed by Mao Zedong, had had close contact with the American military and diplomatic missions attached to Chiang Kai-Shek. Facts and documents have been discovered which show that as early as at that time, when they were fighting against Japan and Chiang Kai-Shek, the Chinese leaders were pro the United States of America. Previously, when Mao Zedong thought had not yet been openly exposed by our parties, the social-imperialists and imperialists were rather tranquil, because they thought that this revisionist current was working within us like a worm in an apple. Now, after our exposure of it, we see that they have increased their attacks upon us."

ONLY IN STRUGGLE CAN THE MARXIST-LENINIST PARTIES BE STRENGTHENED AND TEMPERED AND GAIN CAPABILITY

- From the conversation with Joao Amazonas, First Secretary of the CC of the Communist Party of Brazil July 25, 1980 – in: Collected Works, Volume 6, page 53

Even many years after liberation, Mao did not liquidate the bases of the wealthy exploiting capitalist classes. Who permitted this bourgeoisie to exist comfortably in the party ? Mao himself, with his ideas, permitted this, the lack of a correct Marxist-Leninist organizational, political, and ideological structure of the party has permitted it. Mao permitted the flourishing of many lines, of opportunism, practicism, and liberalism. (Reflections on China, Volume 2, page 280 and page 284).

Comrade Enver Hoxha taught that there was neither a proletarian revolution, nor socialism in China (page 794):

The views of Mao Tsetung should not be studied merely from the edited phrases in the four volumes which have been published, but must be studied in their practical application (795)

The ideas of Mao Tsetung developed in the present period of the decay of imperialism, the final stage of capitalism, hence, at a time when proletarian revolutions are on the order of the day and when the example and the great lessons of the Great October Socialist Revolution, the teachings of Marx and Lenin are an unerring guide for us. The theory of Mao Tsetung, «Mao Tsetung thought», which emerged in these new conditions, was bound to cloak itself with the most revolutionary and most scientific theory of the time — Marxism-Leninism, but in essence it remained an anti-Marxist theory, because it is opposed to proletarian revolutions and goes to the aid of imperialism in decay.

Therefore, in the ideology of Mao Tsetung we shall find reflected all the aspects of the ideas which capitalism and imperialism have invented during the many years of the period of their decline and decay. «Mao Tsetung thought» is an amalgam of ideologies, beginning from anarchism, Trotskyism, modern revisionism a la Tito, a la Khrushchev, «Eurocommunism» a la Marchais-Berlinguer-Carrillo, and finally down to the use of Marxist-Leninist formulas. In all this amalgam we must also discern the old ideas of Confucius, Mencius, and other Chinese philosophers, which had a very great influence on the formation of Mao Tsetung's ideas and his cultural-theoretical development.

Thus it is hard to define a single line or, so to say, a clear line of the Chinese ideology. Even those aspects of it which may be said to be a kind of distorted Marxism-Leninism, have an Asiatic seal and character, have the specific character of an «Asiatic communism», are a sort of «Asiacommunism» the same as «Eurocommunism», in which you cannot find the proletarian internationalism of Marx and Lenin in its full and true meaning. In the Chinese ideology we shall find heavy doses of nationalism, xenophobia, religion, Buddhism, marked hangovers of the feudal ideology, not to mention many other hangovers which exist and were not systematically combated, not only during the period of the national liberation war, but especially during the period of the establishment of the state of people's democracy.

It must be admitted that the reactionary world bourgeoisie has followed and studied the development of the policy and ideology of Mao Tsetung, the development of political-ideological struggles in China, more carefully not only in the periods prior to the revolution, but also during the revolution.

Precisely because the reactionary world bourgeoisie saw that this policy and this ideology had its specific Chinese Asiatic character, was far removed from Marxism-Leninism, it has defended, supported and propagated it, moreover as Marxist-Leninist. In its own writings and publications, the bourgeoisie clearly sets out the orientation of the policy and ideology of Mao Tsetung and describes it not as Marxist, but as a revolutionary bourgeois ideology and, in fact, that is what it is. It was in the interests of imperialism, world capitalism, that China, a huge continent, you might say, should continue on this course, should follow the political and ideological orientation of Mao Tsetung, which one day would come into open opposition to scientific Marxism, because China would not follow the road of scientific Marxism. In the development of China, this became obvious. The ideological contradictions between Marxism-Leninism and «Mao Tsetung thought» became inevitable, not only now but even earlier.

All the differences and misunderstandings on the part of the Chinese with the Soviet Union, the Comintern, and Stalin were opposition over issues of principle, and for no other reason.

I think that when we analyse «Mao Tsetung thought», we must bear in mind all these factors, which have played a major role in the political-theoretical development of the Chinese leadership and the Communist Party of China and have been reflected in their orientations and actions. The present strategy of Maoism which, as we know, consists of its alliance with the United States of America and the whole of world capitalism in order to oppose the revisionist Soviet Union, flows from this.

This is not simply a policy of adaptation to the changing political developments, but a policy which has an ideological content and the Maoists have an ideological conviction about it. The Chinese leaders think in virtually the same way as the American imperialists and the leaders of the other developed capitalist «democracies». They are at one ideologically, especially in their aims of domination, because, China, too, as a big state, does not want to put itself under the leadership and under the heel of any of these imperialists and capitalists, but wants to dominate, or at least, to have its own big say which must be listened to throughout the world.

It is for this reason that, in one way or another, Maoist China advocates the alliance of the world proletariat with the capitalist bourgeoisie and American imperialism. By putting itself on this course, China in fact is hindering the world revolution and distorting the Marxist-Leninist theory just as the other revisionists are doing. Its policy and activity serve imperialism and capitalism, which is giving up the ghost, as a fresh injection to revive it and prolong its life.

The basis of the opposition which Maoist China has with Soviet revisionism is simply that Maoist China considers the Soviet Union a weaker imperialist power than the United States of America and thinks that, in alliance with American imperialism, it will realize its expansionist dreams — the occupation of Siberia and other eastern regions of the Soviet Union.

This is the basis of the contradiction between China and the Soviet Union, and this contradiction does not have an ideological character, as it is presented, that is, that China is allegedly Marxist-Leninist and the Soviet Union revisionist. No, both these countries are revisionist, have a bourgeois ideology which guides them and they are fighting against the revolution precisely in the conditions of the decay of imperialism.

Therefore, it seems to me that all these notes must be deepened and backed up more thoroughly with a richer documentation, a documentation which must be searched for, because it exists in one way or another, either in the newspapers or books which, from time to time, are published in China or abroad. However, these must be studied in a critical manner, and must be compared with the Chinese reality and the fundamental principles and theses of our great revolutionary ideology — Marxism-Leninism. (page 797 - 798)

Enver Hoxha wrote his important article „**Theory and Practice of the Revolution**“ which was published in „Zëri i popullit“ on July 7, 1977. This article dealt mainly with the exposure of the Maoist theory of the „*Three Worlds*“ - a new revisionist deviation of the Marxist-Leninist theory of only two worlds – the capitalist and the socialist one. Enver Hoxha wrote:

"On a daily base the main features of our epoch are sharpened and appear more and more clearly as the epoch of transition from capitalism to socialism, the struggle of two opposed social systems, as the epoch of the proletarian and national liberation revolutions, the downfall of imperialism and the liquidation of the colonial system, as the epoch of the triumph of socialism and communism on a global scale." (Enver Hoxha, Report to the 5th Party Congress of the PLA)

The Marxist-Leninists always based the definition of the present epoch and the revolutionary strategy on the analysis of the great social contradictions which characterise this epoch. Which contradictions are these?

After the triumph of the socialist revolution in Russia, Lenin and Stalin were speaking about four contradictions:

- the contradiction between the two opposed systems — the socialist and the capitalist system**
- the contradiction between capital and labour in the capitalist countries**
- the contradiction between the oppressed peoples and nations on the one hand and imperialism on the other hand**
- the contradiction between the imperialist powers**

Exactly these contradictions build the objective foundation of the development of today's revolutionary movement, which in their collectivity form the great process of the world revolution in our epoch. The complete current situation world wide proves that since Lenin's times the contradictions have neither been moderated nor disappeared but on the contrary, haven been further sharpened and have come to the surface like never before. Therefore the knowledge and acknowledgement of these contradictions is the basis for defining a correct revolutionary strategy. The denial of these contradictions, concealing them, ignoring one or another of these contradictions, distorting their true meaning — like the revisionists and the various opportunists do — leads to confusion and disorder within the revolutionary movement and serves as foundation to construct and preach a distorted, pseudo-revolutionary strategy and tactic."

Enver Hoxha commented his article

Theory and Practice of the Revolution

as follows:

The theory of «three worlds», which we criticized at the 7th Congress, was not new. In building a «new, pro- American strategy», the Chinese needed to adopt this creation of others, the «three worlds». Mao Tsetung did not create this theory, as the Chinese claim, and neither did Teng Hsiao-ping, who spoke at the UNO in 1974 and placed China within this world. This is an old term coined by American imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism and the Khrushchevites. Our Party publicly opposed this thesis long ago. (page 569)

If China were a socialist country it would have to fight the two great imperialist powers, to exploit and deepen the contradictions between them, struggle to neutralize the efforts which the two superpowers are making for a world war and prepare its friends and comrades all over the world to cope with the storm of another war of extermination. China is not doing this, therefore it was essential that our article, «*The Theory and Practice of the Revolution*», should come out at these moments. I believe that our article, «*The Theory and Practice of the Revolution*», which came out today in the newspaper «Zëri i popullit», will have a great impact on the Marxist-Leninists abroad and also on other progressive bourgeois thinkers, while the Chinese and their hangers-on, against whom the article is aimed in fact, will certainly be furious. It was necessary, indeed very necessary and essential, that we should prepare and publish this article, because the Chinese revisionists were doing increasing harm, stepping up the struggle against Marxism- Leninism and especially against the Party of Labour of Albania. (Pages 544, 545, 546)

The „Three world theory" was created in the interests of world imperialism in general, and in the interest of the Chinese social imperialists in particular. It denies the class character of the world's society with the main contradiction of labour and capital, the contradictions between the suppressed peoples and world imperialism as well as the existence of socialism. The "Three world theory" contradicts with Marxism-Leninism, with world communism, with international class struggle and dictatorship of the proletariat. It is a bourgeois "theory" of class-conciliation and denies the worl- proletarian revolution.

Terms like „Three Worlds“, „non-aligned (bloc-free)“ countries, and „developing“ countries suggest the illusions that they could resist the exploitations and oppressions of both the superpowers in collaboration with the „Second world“. But not enough: The „Three Worlds“ theory is based upon the Alliance of the US-imperialists with all the other imperialist countries and with the countries of the „Third World“ to struggle against the Soviet social-imperialism. These anti-Leninist theories ignore the fact, that all these countries are dependent of the new colonialist world system and that the peoples' struggle against the whole imperialist world system cannot be mixed up with the struggle of world hegemony which is caused by the contradictions among different imperialist powers. It is neither in the interest of the exploited and oppressed classes to support the class enemies in their own country, nor to support them somewhere else in the world. All capitalist countries belong to the capitalist world, no matter whether they are "large" or "small", "weak" or "strong", "bloodthirsty fascist" or "democratic and civilized", etc. Marxism- Leninism teaches the revolutionary overthrow of the exploiting classes both in the world and in every country. The exploiting classes and their states are all together enemies of the revolution and socialism, enemies of the liberation struggle of the peoples. Enver Hoxha taught us that the "Theory of the Three Worlds" uses the contradictions of the capitalist world only for the hegemony of the Chinese superpower and not for the proletarian world revolution and for world socialism.

In his "Reflections on China" (Vol. 2) Enver Hoxha comes to the conclusion:

The theses that «the third world is the greatest and most powerful force which drives the revolution forward», etc., are anti-Marxist, counterrevolutionary theses presented by Mao Tsetung and his Chinese disciples (all so-called Marxists)», are a serious restraint on the world revolution and the national revolutions. China with its theory of the «third world», Tito with his theory of the «non-aligned world», and Carrillo and company with «Eurocommunism» have marked tendencies towards an alleged re-examination of the analysis of the situation in the world. They want to form another revisionist ideological bloc, separate from Soviet modern revisionism. As to Marxism- Leninism, this does not come into the question at all, and is disregarded by both the new revisionist bloc and the old Soviet bloc. (page 598)

All this stagnation, all this confusion, is created to prolong the existence of capital and to combat the ideas of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin. In other words, the revisionists are striving in various ways to ensure that the communist parties, the world proletariat and the proletariat of each country abandon the ideas of Marxism-Leninism, abandon the true science of the revolution, of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the class struggle, which lead to socialism. They are also striving to create certain pseudo-Marxist, pseudo-socialist and pseudo-democratic views, allegedly suitable for the period through which mankind is passing. To all these anti-Marxists, the phenomena of the present period are not like the phenomena of the period in which Marx, Engels and Lenin lived and wrote, and allegedly the forecasts and discoveries of the laws of the revolution and society on their part are not being confirmed in the development of human society today. This is the general essence of the anti-Marxist theory. Thus, on the basis of this pseudo-Marxist theory, it is possible that a hundred and one different theories can be built up, and the aim of each of them will be to fight against the proletarian revolution, while at the same time, posing as if it is proletarian ideology. This is the aim of all these anti-Marxist groupings that call themselves communist, from Titoism, Khrushchevite revisionism, «Eurocommunism» down to Chinese revisionism. (page 600)

In "Reflections on China, Volume 2, Enver Hoxha defended Marxism-Leninism against all Pseu-Communists:

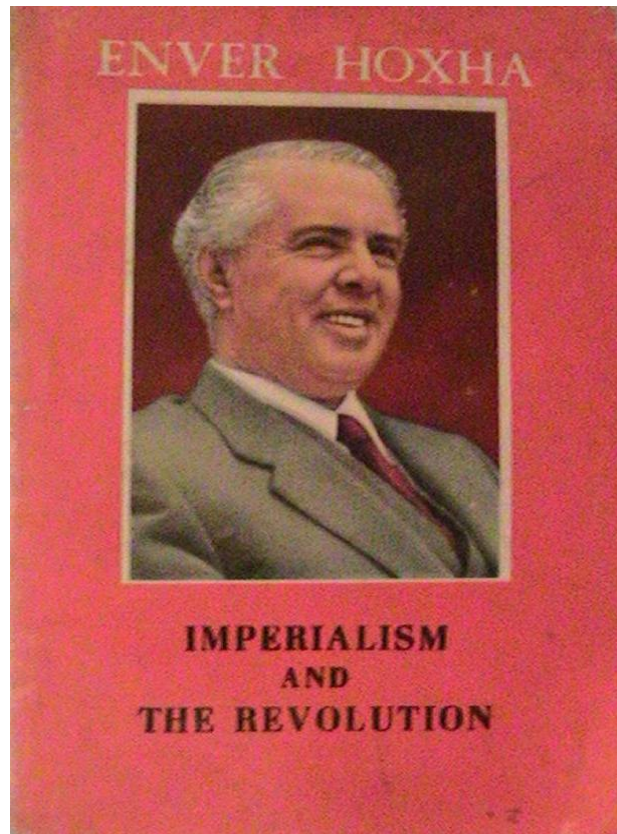
Marxism-Leninism has not died, neither has it grown old, it is always revolutionary, it is young and is the motive force of the world today. The revolution, led by the proletariat, is that great force which will transform the world and not that nondescript «third world» which Mao and the Maoists are boosting. (Page 521)

Regardless of the temporary defeats we have suffered, we must fight against this situation with the greatest severity, must defend Marxism-Leninism, defend the theory of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, which always remains strong, pure, and triumphant. The peoples and the world proletariat have lost neither their courage nor their hope in victory. They are fighting and will fight harder yet. They will recognize the betrayal of these pseudo-communists more and more clearly each day, and will see that this betrayal makes the yoke of world capital and internal capital even heavier on their backs. Thus, they will come to the conclusion that Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin reached, that the peoples and the proletariat must create those revolutionary situations, must create those Marxist-Leninist parties, which will carry out the revolution and seize power in order to build a socialist society, their own society, through a state of the dictatorship of the proletariat. (page 641)

Comrade Enver Hoxha, at the head of the PLA, had unmasked and exposed the Chinese revisionism and its anti-Marxist, anti-proletarian, counter-revolutionary, bourgeois and imperialist character in many documents and speeches.

However, the greatest contribution in the struggle against Maoism that is

Enver Hoxha's famous book:



"Imperialism and Revolution".

It is a further in-depth criticism at the dangerous "Mao Tsetung-Ideas". This book confirms excellently that comrade Enver Hoxha is the genuine 5th Classic of Marxism-Leninism. This book proves that comrade Enver Hoxha is the greatest theorizer who developed Marxism-Leninism-Stalinism further to Hoxhaism.

In this book, the Marxist-Leninist strategy of revolution is opposed against the counter-revolutionary policies of the U.S. and world imperialism, Soviet social-imperialism and the Chinese and the various currents of modern revisionism.

«Imperialism and Revolution" was published at a time when the tide of the revolutionary movement has intensified, caused by the crisis of world capitalism. The bourgeoisie, imperialism, social-imperialism and the modern revisionists, from the Yugoslav and the Khrushchevite to the "Euro-communists" and the Chinese revisionists, increased their efforts to confuse ideologically the proletariat and the freedom-loving peoples. They tried to dissuade them from the path of class struggle to undermine the revolution and perpetuate capitalism. All these forces of retrogression and reaction, despite the violent contradictions that they have with each other, are all striving, the revolutionary and liberation movement through force and terror to stifle or prevent the revolution for the purpose to continue the exploitation and oppression of peoples. In particular, exerts Comrade Enver a scathing critique of the political and ideological line of Chinese revisionism, of the so-called "Mao Zedong Thoughts", against the aspirations of the Chinese revisionist leadership to create their superpower. This has found its expression in the notorious theory of "three worlds".

The profound scientific Marxist-Leninist analysis of Comrade Enver about the developments and features of imperialism and the great contradictions of our time in the current phase, confirms the correctness and vitality of the Marxist-Leninist conclusion that the revolution and national liberation of the peoples is on the agenda. Comrade Enver shows that the Leninist analysis of imperialism has retained its full validity in our days, namely the Leninist determination of our epoch as the epoch of imperialism and proletarian revolutions. The epoch of the destruction of the old capitalist system, colonialism and imperialism the seizure of power by the proletariat and the liberation of oppressed peoples is the unshakable period of the victory of socialism on a world scale. Life and facts confirm the scientific Marxist-Leninist conclusions of Comrade Enver Hoxha, that today the situation in the world is in general revolutionary. This situation matured in many countries or is maturing rapidly. In other countries this process is in development. The world of today is a world like a "eruptions of a volcano, like a scorching fire, a fire that will burn out the upper ruling class with all its oppressors and exploiters. Comrade Enver underlines:

"It is an imperative task to dispel the mist, which the revisionists have spread over the revolution, to expose the maneuvering and speculating over the revolution, and to unmask their counter-revolutionary, chauvinist, hegemonistic goals."

Comrade Enver argues that the decisive irreconcilable struggle against all forms of both the imperialist domination and the local reactionary pro-imperialist forces is the only possible way to achieve national and social liberation of the peoples. Of great importance are the Marxist-Leninist conclusions of Comrade Enver that the anti-imperialist, national liberation movements of the peoples are integral part of a single revolutionary process of the proletarian world revolution in the present world epoch of the revolutionary transition from capitalism to socialism. They are a powerful support for the proletariat in its struggle against capitalism. The liberation struggle of the oppressed peoples can only be victorious, if it is closely connected with the cause of the proletariat and socialism.

On the basis of Marxism-Leninism and the generalization of the experience of the revolutionary and communist movement, Enver Hoxha specified the basic problems of the development of Marxist-Leninist parties, their tempering in the fire of revolutionary action, their activities to mobilize the masses in the class struggle and in the revolution, and their internationalist unity. Comrade Enver Hoxha expressed his unshakable conviction that these parties will have a great future in fulfilling historic and glorious tasks as the standard bearer of the proletarian revolution and the liberation of the peoples, which the modern revisionists have dropped and kicked in the dirt.

«These parties», writes Enver, "carry the burden of the global Leninist strategy against the imperialists who wage their counter-revolution against the world revolution and the great theory of Marxism-Leninism. They carry the burden to make the masses conscious about the unavoidable sacrifices. It is their task to unite, organize, guide and lead the masses to victory."

Particularly, comrade Enver criticized comprisingly the present-day Chinese revisionism, the anti-Marxist and anti-proletarian content of its ideology and its sermons, its chauvinistic and social-imperialist strategy, its profoundly counter-revolutionary role.

Comrade Enver Hoxha wrote:

"Mao Tsetung's ideas" were developed at the time of the decay of capitalism, that is, at the time when proletarian revolutions are on the agenda and when the example of the great October Socialist Revolution, the great teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin have become an unerring guide for the proletariat and the revolutionary peoples of the world. The theory of Mao Tsetung, <<Mao Tsetung thought>>, which was born in these new conditions, had to try to deck itself out, as it did, in the garb of the most revolutionary and scientific theory of the time, Marxism-Leninism, but in essence it remained a <<theory>> opposed to the cause of the proletarian revolution and which comes to the rescue of imperialism in crisis and decay. Therefore, we say that Mao Tsetung and <<Mao Tsetung thought>> are anti-Marxist."

Comrade Enver Hoxha proved convincingly by numerous facts that contemporary Chinese revisionism is not a phenomenon of recent years, and certainly not just of the period after Mao Zedong's death, as some mistakenly assume. Its ideological and theoretical roots lie rather in the so-called "Mao Zedong Thought", which had already begun to take shape before the Second World War, especially after 1935, when the disreputable 7th World Congress of the Comintern took place and which helped Mao Zedong to come to power in the Communist Party 'China. In his book, comrade Enver Hoxha defended the Comintern against the betrayal of Mao Zedong:

"Mao Zedong and other Chinese leaders accuse the Comintern of having allegedly impeded and complicated things for them in the waging of a consistent struggle for the seizure of power and the construction of socialism in China. But the facts of the past and especially the present Chinese reality confirm that the Comintern's decisions and directives about China were correct in general, and that the Communist Party of China did not act on the basis and in the spirit of the principles of Marxism-Leninism."

The special significance of the book of Comrade Enver Hoxha - regarding the exposure of Chinese revisionism - is the fact that for the first time a detailed Marxist-Leninist analysis was worked out and presented about the so called "Mao Zedong Thought". Enver Hoxha detected that Maoism is never a further development of Marxism-Leninism, and that Mao was never a Classic of Marxism-Leninism. The so called "Marxism-Leninism-Maoism" is - through and through - a revisionist ideology:

Mao Tsetung used the criticisms against Stalin in order to justify his deviation from the Marxist-Leninist principles which Stalin consistently defended and further enriched. With their attack against Stalin, the Chinese revisionists intended to disparage his work and authority, to raise Mao Tsetung's authority to the rank of a world leader, a classic of Marxism-Leninism, who allegedly has a ways pursued a correct and infallible line! These criticisms also expressed their accumulated discontent against Stalin over the censure and criticisms he and the Comintern made of the leadership of the Communist Party of China and Mao Tsetung over their failure to implement the principles of Marxism-Leninism consistently on the leading role of the proletariat in the revolution, proletarian internationalism, the strategy and tactics of the revolutionary struggle etc."

As Comrade Enver has defined the "Mao Zedong thought":

<<Mao Tsetung thought>> is an amalgam of views in which ideas and theses borrowed from Marxism are mixed up with idealist, pragmatic and revisionist principles from other philosophies. It has its roots in ancient Chinese philosophy, and in the political and ideological past, in the state and militarist practice of China. All the Chinese leaders, those who have taken power at present as well as those who have been in and who have fallen from power, but who have manoeuvred to put their counterrevolutionary plans into practice, have had and have <<Mao Tsetung thought>> as their ideological basis. Mao Tsetung himself has admitted that his thoughts can be exploited by all, both by the leftists and the rightists, as he calls the various groups that comprise the Chinese leadership

In "Imperialism and the Revolution» Comrade Enver Hoxha points out convincingly that there was a direct consequence of the application of "Mao Zedong thought" that the Communist Party of China - from the ideological, political, organizational standpoint and from the standpoint of their class composition - was never a truly revolutionary, Marxist-Leninist party of the proletariat. It was a consequence of "Mao Zedong Thought" that the Chinese revolution was not developed in accordance with the teachings of Marxism-Leninism, that it was a bourgeois-democratic revolution which was not transferred into the socialist revolution, and which could not lead to the establishment of a true dictatorship of the proletariat, and therefore the floodgates were opened for the free development of capitalism in China.

It is also a fact that the "Mao Zedong Thought" have replaced proletarian internationalism through racist ideas and the great power chauvinism. Comrade Enver subjects the notorious theory of "three worlds" a comprehensive and Marxist-Leninist justified criticism and proves that it is rooted in the "Mao Zedong Thought."

Enver Hoxha also wrote:

"We are against the revisionist theorists who preach that the whole revolutionary struggle should be reduced by the struggle for national independence. They deny the social liberation. Lenin teaches us that the revolution must be crowned through the complete liquidation of the bourgeoisie and her power. Only on this basis one can talk of true freedom, independence and sovereignty."

Of particular importance is that Comrade Enver unmasked with great tenacity the dangerous warmongering policies of the Chinese social-imperialist leadership clique. They have abandoned the Marxist-Leninist doctrines and attitudes in regard of the question of war, peace and revolution.

"The great addiction of the Chinese leaders to transform their country as soon as possible into a superpower, and establish their hegemony, especially in the so-called third world," wrote Comrade Enver Hoxha in "Imperialism and Revolution," "forced them to a strategy and foreign policy of inciting imperialist wars."

They try to instigate a frontal confrontation between the U.S. and the Soviet Union in Europe, while China hands would warm up by the atomic fire from a distance. According to the plans of the Chinese leadership, the two main rivals would be destroyed mutually, and China would remain as the sole Almighty ruler of the world.

The Marxist-Leninists and the revolutionaries throughout the world see that the Party of Labour of Albania defends Marxism-Leninism when the others attack it, that it defends the principles of proletarian internationalism when the various revisionists have thrown these principles overboard. They see that in its stands the Party of Labour of Albania not only proceeds from the interests of its own country, but also expresses and represents very great interests, near and dear to the entire proletariat, the interests of genuine socialism, the interests of all those who base themselves on and are guided by Marxism-Leninism for the revolutionary transformation of the world. At the same time, we notice that the policy China is following in its relations with US imperialism as well as with Soviet social-imperialism, is arousing doubts, discontent and constant criticism everywhere, especially in the countries of the so-called third world. This is natural, because the honest people in these countries see that the Chinese policy is not correct, that it is a policy which supports an imperialism which is oppressing them, that much of what the Chinese leaders preach does not conform to their deeds and the concrete reality. The peoples see that China is following a socialimperialist policy which threatens their interests.

The Party of Labour of Albania has fought, is fighting and will always fight resolutely in defence of the purity of Marxist-Leninist ideas. It is and will always be against all those who strive to distort them and replace them with bourgeois, revisionist, counterrevolutionary ideas. Our Party is a proletarian party, a Marxist-Leninist party, an active participant in the world revolution, for which it is determined to make any sacrifice, just as it has done up till now. There is no force that can make our Party deviate from this fully internationalist, glorious and honourable course. There is no force which can intimidate or conquer it. Our Party cannot reconcile itself to any kind of opportunism, to any kind of deviation from Marxism-Leninism, to any distortion of it. It will fight with determination against Chinese revisionism, too, just as against revisionism of any other kind.

And the book ends with the following sentences:

Now for our Party, as well as for all the Marxist-Leninist parties in the world, the struggle against Chinese revisionism should be given the greatest attention. This is an important question, but this does not mean that while dealing with it, we are permitted to forget Soviet revisionism, Titoite revisionism, or <<Eurocommunism>>, which are very dangerous variants of modern revisionism. In regard to their tactics and strategy, all these anti-Marxist trends, regardless of the differences in their forms of struggle, are on the one course, have the same objective, and are same struggle.

For all these reasons, we must never divert our attention either from the struggle which must be waged against American imperialism and all the reactionary capitalist bourgeoisie of the world or from the struggle against the Soviet, Yugoslav, Chinese, and other shades of revisionism. Despite all the contradictions they have among themselves, all these enemies are linked by the one cord - the fight against the revolution, against the Marxist-Leninist parties and their unity, against the general organization of the proletariat and the entire working masses in order to launch themselves into revolution.

The struggle against modern revisionism, and especially against Soviet, Titoite and Chinese revisionism, is not an easy matter. On the contrary, this struggle is and will be stern and protracted. For it to be waged successfully, for victories to be gained step by step, the communists, the cadres, the intelligentsia and all the working masses of our country must be imbued with the ideology of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin and must also study the rich experience of our Party in the struggle against modern revisionism. Only in this way will we be able to overcome the obstacles and emerge unscathed from the great hostile forest with all its thorns. As always, our Party of Labour must maintain clear, resolute, bold stands on the correct Marxist-Leninist line. This line of our Party, with its clearly defined objectives, will help to expose American imperialism, Soviet social-imperialism, as well as Chinese social-imperialism, and to wage the merciless struggle against them successfully. The task of our Party, and of all the genuine communists of the world, is to fight with dedication to defend our Marxist-Leninist theory and cleanse it of all the distortions which the bourgeoisie, the modern revisionists and all opportunists and traitors make of it. Marxism-Leninism is the triumphant ideology. He who embraces, defends and develops it, is a member of the glorious army of the revolution, of that great and invincible army of genuine communists, who are leading the proletariat and all the oppressed to transform the world, to destroy capitalism and to build the new world, the socialist world.

It is self-evident that every Stalinist-Hoxhaist fighter must study and spread this great book of comrade Enver Hoxha.

The truth about the relations between China and Albania

1. Contacts between our two parties and countries were established after the triumph of the revolution in China, after the founding of the People's Republic of China. They became closer and stronger especially after 1960, when the open struggle against Khrushchevite revisionism began. The struggle against imperialism and modern revisionism brought our parties together, but with China's departure from this struggle their roads parted. The struggle of the Party of Labour of Albania against modern revisionism had begun even prior to the condemnation of Titoism by the Inform bureau. It continued more fiercely after Stalin's death, when the Khrushchevite variant of revisionism began to show up. Our Party extended and intensified this struggle more and more, rising in opposition against the anti Marxist attitudes and actions of Khrushchev and his gang, both in their foreign policy and in their relations with the communist parties, with our Party in particular.

The Khrushchevite deviation represented the revision of the Marxist Leninist theory in all fields and on all questions. The Khrushchevite strategy was aimed at undermining the dictatorship of the proletariat and restoring capitalism in the Soviet Union, transforming this country into an imperialist superpower, for the division and domination of the world together with American imperialism. In order to realize this strategy, Khrushchev attacked Stalin and bolshevism, he advocated extinction of class struggle both within the Soviet Union and outside it. On the pretext that the ratio of forces in the world today had changed, that the imperialism and the international reactionary bourgeoisie had become reasonable, he justified his abandonment of the key thesis of Marxism Leninism on the violent revolution and spread illusions about the so-called peaceful road. In their relations with the communist and workers' parties, the Khrushchevites acted according to their concept of the "mother party" and "conductor's baton". They wanted the other parties to submit to their dictate and adopt their views, to transform them into tools of their foreign policy. On this road, Khrushchev, Brezhnev and others reconciled themselves to the Yugoslav revisionists and made common cause with them in the struggle against Marxism Leninism and the revolution. To this traitorous and counter-revolutionary line of Khrushchevism the Party of Labour of Albania responded with its determined and unyielding fight. In particular, it opposed and denounced the ideological rehabilitation of Titoism by Khrushchev, who with this act of his was clearly showing that he had completely sunk in the quagmire of opportunism and betrayal. Documents prove that, despite its waverings in its stand towards Yugoslav revisionism, at the beginning of 1960, the Communist Party of China, also, influenced by nobody, condemned the rehabilitation of Tito and his group by Khrushchev. In June 1960, as is known, the Bucharest Meeting was held. There, the counter-revolutionary line of Khrushchev and the Khrushchevites was still better confirmed. They not only attacked Marxism Leninism in all directions, but also attacked the Communist Party of China directly. At that meeting, the Party of Labour of Albania openly went to the aid of the Communist Party of China and defended it to the end, thus drawing upon itself the fire of the anger and the weight of the pressures of all the Khrushchevite revisionists.

Whereas our Party initiated and carried on the fight against Khrushchevite revisionism with consistency and resolve, the Chinese leadership wavered and failed to adopt clear-cut anti Khrushchevite stands. In the initial stage of the fierce polemics between the Party of Labour of Albania and the Khrushchevite revisionists, China was in agreement with Albania, but this only on the surface, because, in reality, as was proved later, it was seeking a reconciliation with the Soviets and the extinction of polemics with them. This was evident also in Chou En-lai's speech at the 22nd Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, where in fact, he did not defend our Party, but demanded that polemics should cease instead. The Chinese leadership called this colourless stand assistance to Albania, but the demand to cease polemics was neither to the interest of socialist Albania, nor to the interest of China itself. It benefited Khrushchev and his fight against socialism and Marxism Leninism.

2. The wavering stand of the Communist Party of China in the struggle against revisionism became clearly manifest in June 1962. At that time the Party of Labour of Albania sent a delegation to Peking to conduct talks with the leadership of the Communist Party of China on important questions which had to do with the tactics and strategy of the common struggle of our two parties in the international arena. The Chinese leadership argued its line of reconciliation with the Soviet revisionists with the need to unite "with everybody" against US imperialism, which, in its words, was the main enemy.

3. In Summer 1964 Chinese propaganda took up the Sino-Soviet border problem. According to the view of our Party, the Chinese leadership was making two gross mistakes. In the first place, the raising of the border problem at that moment did not assist the ideological struggle against Khrushchevism. On the contrary, it provided the Soviet leadership with a powerful weapon against China and the Marxist Leninists in order to neutralize the effect of the ideological struggle they were waging to expose the Khrushchevite betrayal and to present our struggle as a border dispute or territorial claims. On the other hand, by calling into question the rectification of the borders of the Soviet Union with some European countries following the Second World War, J. V. Stalin was unjustly attacked, and the accusation levelled by international reaction against him for creating "spheres of influence" was backed up. The Chinese leadership agreed with Tito, who, when it came to redress the injustices Yugoslavia had suffered in the past at the hands of the victorious powers, upheld this thesis.

4. In October 1964 N. Khrushchev was overthrown. This event again revealed the wavering stand of the Chinese leaders towards the Soviet revisionists. The hopes for a reconciliation with, and rapprochement to, them were revived. This event has only put off the decay of revisionism, has pushed revisionism closer to its grave, while Khrushchev's successors are trying to prevent revisionism from falling into this grave, by implementing the policy of Khrushchevism without Khrushchev.

5. Our Party supported the Cultural Revolution at the personal request of Mao Tsetung, who declared to our Party that China was facing a colossal danger, and that no one knew who would win in China, the socialist forces or the revisionists (From minutes of the talk with the delegation of the Albanian Party and Government, May 1966). The Party of Labour of Albania assisted China at a very critical moment, when it was going through great upheavals and was being savagely attacked by the united imperialist revisionist front. The Cultural Revolution, more often than not, preserved the spirit and actions of an unprincipled struggle, which was not led by a genuine party of the working class which should strive for the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Thus, these clashes among factionalist groups ended in the establishment in China of a state power dominated by bourgeois and revisionist elements. The present Chinese leadership wanted and wants the Party of Labour of Albania to denounce the Cultural Revolution according to the will and the reasons of the Chinese leadership. The Party of Labour of Albania will never accept such a dictate. Together with all the world revolutionaries it is expecting the Communist Party of China to make the true analysis of this Cultural Revolution.

6. The Party of Labour of Albania has made allround, powerful and open efforts to defend China in the international arena, though on many issues it held opposite views on principle. But your leadership found this wish of Albania's unreasonable and preferred its own isolation, excusing itself with various pretexts before all the states which expressed their wish to establish relations with it.

7. In 1968, a Party and Government delegation of Albania went to China. This delegation was also charged with the task of presenting to the Chinese leadership our requests for aid to strengthen the defence potential of Albania. Chou En-lai openly put forth: Albania, as a small country, had no need of heavy armament and that it was not at all in a position to defend itself alone from foreign aggression, particularly from Soviet social imperialism and US imperialism, no matter how much military aid it would receive from China. Therefore, according to Chou En-lai, the only road for Albania to cope with foreign aggression was that of applying the tactics of partisan warfare in the country and concluding a military alliance with Yugoslavia and with Rumania. The Political Bureau of the Central Committee of our Party unanimously condemned and rejected Chou En-lai's anti Albanian and counter-revolutionary proposal to drive socialist Albania into the trap of warmongering plots through military alliances, with the final aim of turning the Balkan area into a powder keg, as the Soviet social imperialists and the US imperialists are seeking to do. These acts of the Chinese leadership and the opposition of our Party to these reactionary acts had, later, very serious consequences in the relations between our two countries. Our Party has never meddled with the internal affairs of China. But the Chinese leadership, at certain moments, has criminally interfered in the internal affairs of Albania. If these condemnable acts undertaken by the Chinese leadership in collusion with the Albanian traitors were realized, the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, its independence and sovereignty would have been liquidated.

8. While our Party was working to strengthen fraternal co-operation with China, while it wanted to correctly wage and intensify the struggle against imperialism, modern revisionism and reaction on a joint front also with all the Marxist Leninist parties and forces, China saw everything only from its own angle, it wanted to dominate others, so that the latter would follow its strategy and tactics. Nixon's visit to Peking was laying the foundations of a new policy on the part of China. The axis of the Chinese policy has changed three times over ten years, from 1962 to 1972. First, the Communist Party of China abided by the strategy formula of a "united front with the Soviet and other revisionists against US imperialism and its allies". Later on, the Communist Party of China came forward with the slogan of a "very broad united front of the proletariat and the revolutionary peoples of all countries against US imperialism, Soviet revisionism and reaction of various countries". After Nixon's visit to China, the Chinese strategy again speaks of a "broad united front", but this time it includes "all those who can be united", incorporating in it even the United States of America against Soviet social imperialism.

9. After its rapprochement with US imperialism and overtures to the United States of America and its allies, the leadership of the Communist Party of China proclaimed the anti Marxist and counterrevolutionary theory of the "three worlds", which it presented as a strategy of the revolution, and made efforts to impose it on the Marxist Leninist communist movement and all the peoples of the world as the general line of their struggle. At present, the Chinese plan to become a superpower has found its concentrated expression in the infamous theory of "three worlds". The theory of "three worlds" seeks to replace Marxism Leninism with an eclectic amalgamation of opportunist, revisionist and anarchic syndicalist ideas and theses, it seeks to dampen the revolutionary spirit of the proletariat and its class struggle, advocating an alliance with the bourgeoisie and imperialism. Alleging that time is not ripe for revolution, the theory of "three worlds" seeks to preserve the status quo, the present situation of capitalist, colonialist and neo-colonialist oppression and exploitation. The implementation of the theory of "three worlds" led the Chinese leadership to unite even with the "devil", to unite with the US imperialists and the monopolists of Europe, with fascists and racists, kings and feudal lords, most rabid militarists and warmongers, Pinochet and Franco, former nazi generals of the German Wehrmacht and the Japanese imperial army, dyed-in-the-wool criminals like Mobutu and bloodthirsty kings, American bosses and presidents of multinational companies, became its allies.

10. The Party of Labour of Albania has made every effort to solve the differences arisen between the two Parties and which were becoming pronounced with the passage of time, on the Marxist Leninist road. Proceeding from this desire, seeing that the Chinese leadership systematically failed to answer its letters and refused to send official delegations to Albania, seeing that ideological differences with the Chinese leadership were assuming broad proportions, the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania did not stay aloof, but made other efforts to engage in comradely talks with it. The Chinese leadership did not agree to our delegation going to Peking, thus barring the way to talks, at a time when kings and princes, reactionaries and fascists were welcomed with great pomp in Peking. It was clear that the Chinese leadership was persistently treading its anti Marxist road, that in relations with our Party and country, it was guided by the concepts of great power chauvinism, that it was trying to have its line and dictate accepted unconditionally and indisputably.

11. The Party of Labour of Albania never tramples on the Marxist Leninist principles, and has never been, nor will it ever be anybody's tool. In the ideological and political differences and contradictions with the Party of Labour of Albania, in the failure of the attempts of the Chinese leadership to impose its views and line on the Party of Labour of Albania lies the real reason of the Chinese decision to cease aid to Albania: Having failed to subdue socialist Albania, the Chinese leadership is now seeking to avenge itself and harm the construction of socialism in Albania. In so doing, it is revealing its anti Marxist and counter-revolutionary countenance even more clearly.

For its selfish aims, to make China a central world power, the Chinese leadership is publicizing itself as a "defender of small and middle-sized countries", that it is fighting against "the unfair division of the world economy", that it is against "economic discrimination against the developing countries by the imperialist powers", that it stands for the "development of their national economy", for "the strengthening of their independence and sovereignty", that it is fighting "against bullying of the small by the big", etc. But when the Chinese leadership behaves like an enemy towards Albania, when it ceases aid and credits because the Party of Labour of Albania does not submit to its conductor's baton, all the falsity of the Chinese line is seen through, the not in the least good intentioned aims and lies that the Chinese leadership wants to peddle to the peoples of the "third world" in order to suppress and enslave them, to impose its will and that of the old and new colonialists on them, are also clearly understood.

We want to say to the Chinese leaders: You extended the ideological differences and disagreements also to the field of state relations with our country. With this you dealt a heavy blow at the Albanian Chinese friendship for which the Albanian people and the Chinese people have fought so hard. You made public the disagreements and differences and began open polemics. We accept this challenge and are not afraid of polemics. But you are fully responsible for all your hostile, anti Marxist and anti Albanian acts before the Chinese people and the Albanian people, before all world public opinion.

The People's Socialist Republic of Albania and the Albanian people, under the consistent leadership of the Party of Labour of Albania, with Comrade Enver Hoxha at the head, will thoroughly and honourably fulfil their historic mission for the construction of socialism by relying on their own forces, further proving to the proletariat and all the peoples of the world the inexhaustible and indomitable vitality of the Marxist Leninist ideology, which enables even a small country, encircled by imperialism and revisionism, as Albania is, to build socialism successfully, to defend and carry it always ahead. Albania will never submit to anybody, it will stand to the end loyal to Marxism Leninism and proletarian internationalism. I will march non-stop on the road of socialism and communism illuminated by the immortal teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin. The Albanian people, with the Party of Labour at the head, will resolutely and consistently support the revolutionary and liberation struggles of the peoples, their efforts for freedom, independence and social progress. They will fight uncompromisingly through to the very end against US imperialism, Soviet social imperialism, modern revisionism and world reaction. Albania has never bowed its back or its head, either in the past or today, nor will it ever do so in the future. The Chinese leadership will fall both in its sermons and in its intrigues. The reactionary act it committed against Albania is revolting to the conscience of every honest man and woman in the world. Though encircled, socialist Albania is not isolated because it enjoys the respect and love of the world proletariat, the freedom loving peoples and the honest men and women throughout the world. This respect and love will grow even more in the future. Our cause is just! Socialist Albania will triumph!

excerpts of the letter of the CC of the PLA and the government of Albania to the CC of the CP China and the government of China, on July 29, 1978

On August 6, 1971 Enver Hoxha sent a letter to the Chinese leaders in which he criticized Nixon's visit in Peking. This criticism was not yet openly but with the 6th Congress of the PLA everybody could recognize the different attitude concerning the strategy and tactics on the main enemy of the peoples. From the 6th Congress of the PLA onward the CP of China didn't send any delegations which was against the custom between two friendly brotherparties. The Chinese revisionist leaders wanted to force comrade Enver Hoxha to give up his revolutionary standpoint of view and to subordinate Albania under the new course of the Chinese foreign policy. Enver Hoxha emphasized that any support of one superpower against the other is anti-Marxist, that the support of the European allies of the American imperialism against the Soviet social-imperialism is anti-Marxist, that the deviation of three worlds is anti-Marxist. The Chinese leaders considered Albania not any more as their ally whereas the Yugoslav revisionists were rehabilitated and supported in the struggle against Albania.

In May 1966 China and Albania declared both the superpowers - the American imperialism as well as the Soviet social-imperialism - the main enemies of the peoples. But after that the Chinese leaders had changed their attitude and declared the Soviet social-imperialism as the most dangerous enemy and began to collaborate with the American imperialists („normalization of the Chinese-American relationship“.

It has to be mentioned that the Chinese revisionists did never answer to Albania, let alone holding talks with the PLA.

Enver Hoxha dicussed the struggle against Chinese revisionism on the *2nd and 3rd plenum of the CC of the PLA* in June, 1977 and has profoundly analyzed the anti-Marxist attitude and the counter-revolutionary activities of the revisionist Chinese leaders without leaving out under consideration the responsibility of Mao Tsetung. Later, these discussions of the 2nd and 3rd plenum of the CC of the PLA were worked out in his famous book: *"Imperialism and Revolution"* which was published in 1979.

Of course, Enver Hoxha didn't go down on the knees before Tito and Khrushchev - knowing full well that they reacted with economical punishments, sanctions and predatory extortions.

“The Marxism-Leninism gives us the right to say our word and this law can take nobody away from us neither by political and economic pressure nor by threats or etiquettes which one fastens to us ” (quoted from Enver Hoxha`s speech on the Meeting of 81 Communist and Workers' parties in Moscow on November 16, 1960).

And Enver Hoxha had also forseen the same consequences of the worsening of the relationship with the Chinese revisionist leaders. After the Chinese leaders had ideologically broken with Albania, they proceeded to withdrawing their economical support officially on July 7, 1978. All economic and military aid and loans were terminated with immediate effect, and all Chinese specialists removed from Albania. In a [letter of the CC of the PLA and the goverment of Albania to the CC of the CP China and the government of China, on July 29, 1978](#), the Chinese action was condemned as a brutal violation of the elementary rules and norms in international relations, an action which expresses the heavy blow of an imperialist "great" power against socialism in Albania, in particular, and against Marxism-Leninism, in general:

The unilateral breach of the agreements on economic and military co-operation with Albania by the Chinese Government, the arbitrary violation on its part of the contracts officially concluded between the two countries, the Suspension of work on many projects important to our socialist economy, the ordering back of its experts, and so on, reflect a definite political and ideological line of the Chinese leadership. They are the outcome of the departure of the Chinese leadership from Marxism Leninism and the principles of proletarian internationalism, of its rapprochement to and collaboration with American imperialism, the international bourgeoisie and reaction, of its renunciation of aid to and support for the revolutionary and liberation forces in the international arena, of China's intentions to become an imperialist superpower. This course of the Chinese leadership, which went through a zigzag process, has come up against the constant Opposition of the Party of Labour of Albania which cherishes the cause of socialism, the revolution and the liberation of the peoples above everything else. This accounts for the emergence of serious ideological and political contradictions which have been gradually growing between the Party of Labour of Albania and the Communist Party of China. Precisely because our Party and the Albanian people did not accept and did not submit to the Chinese line and views of a great power, the leadership of the Communist Party of China and the Chinese Government went to such lengths as to cut all aid to socialist Albania, and extended ideological disagreements to interstate relations.

And this provocation of the Chinese revisionist leaders caused the further poralization of the Marxist-Leninist World Movement in followers of Maoism, on the one hand, and followers of Hoxhaism, on the other hand. More than that: this was the final historical act in which the genuine Marxist-Leninists separated completely from the last bastion of modern revisionism, thus from Chinese revisionism. These events were expression of the fact that Hoxhaism and Maoism are hostile ideologies which are impossible to be reconciliated. The significance of the split between Marxism-Leninism and Maoism was for the time being the last liberation act from the influence of modern revisionism in the ranks of the Communist World Movement.

The Comintern (SH) commented this historical Albanian letter in our

Declaration of July 29, 2003

"This letter is an unshakable milestone in the history of the defense of the dictatorship of the proletariat under the conditions of the imperialist- revisionist encirclement. It is a milestone in the revolutionary process of the revolutionary supersession of the capitalist society by the socialist society. It is a proof of the always young lasting Marxism-Leninism. It documents the inexhaustible source of the Proletarian Internationalism from which the strength of the proletarian world revolution unstoppably grows. This letter is a milestone on the revolutionary way to the complete national and social liberation of the people from imperialism, socialimperialism, fascism and socialfascism and the complete world reaction simultaneously. And the letter is last not least a milestone on the way to remove the exploitation of people by people. The Proletarian Internationalism reached a high level 25 years ago, when the world proletariat and the Marxist-Leninist world movement struggled at the side of Albania -- which embodied the socialist world center under the leadership of the PLA -- for the breakthrough of the imperialist-revisionist blockade and encirclement. By this historical act not only the socialist Albania was defended but also the international conditions for the possibility to organize victorious socialist revolutions in other countries and to ease the unfolding for the Anti-imperialist-Antirevisionist liberation struggle of the peoples, exploited and oppressed by the imperialist nations.

The solidarity of the Marxis-Leninist world movement in 1978 triggered an enormous enthusiasm wave among the Albanian people, and was an important contribution for mobilizing the forces of resistance against Chinese revisionism. The other way round the enthusiasm of the principled and determined struggle of the Albanian people against Chinese revisionism encouraged the strength of the Marxist-Leninist world movement to raise this anti-revisionist struggle on an international stage and to lead this struggle in every single country. This was the greatest highlight of the unity of the Marxist-Leninist world movement. Nothing else had increased more the mobilization of the strengths of Albania against Chinese revisionism then the internationalist solidarity."

In his letter to comrade Hysni Kapo, comrade Enver Hoxha wrote in distinct words:

The correct Marxist-Leninist line of our party will not only today but also in the future be supported by the revolutionary Marxist-Leninists worldwide, it will be supported by the world proletariat and the peoples. The daily, struggle-filled routine of our party confirms this.

One must not label Mao Zedong as a "prophet" of the revolution but as a "prophet of the counter-revolution". He represented the type of the Anarchist in whose blood runs confusion, chaos, the undermining of the dictatorship of the proletariat and socialism, but under the condition that this permanent anarchy was led by him or by his typical Chinese anarchist ideology. Mao Zedong is a Chinese Bakunin. The Cultural Revolution was an expression of the ideas and action of this Chinese Bakunin.

(**ENVER HOXHA** : [Letter to Comrade Hysni Kapo](#)) from 31st of July 1978.

Comrade Enver Hoxha commented the split in a couple of Marxist-Leninist parties after the demarcation line was openly drawn against Chinese revisionism:

At present there are difficulties and dangers for the new Marxist-Leninist parties which emerged after the 1960s, and especially for some that were created under the influence of the Chinese cultural revolution. In some of these new “Marxist-Leninist” parties, especially in certain countries of Europe and Latin-America, their emergence on the scene, the organization and uniting of their ranks was done not by sound elements of the working class, but by isolated elements, who had the experience of the weak, anti-Marxist, reformist work of revisionist parties. On top of this, these parties were formed and developed, so to say, in complete legality, and together with others, many elements who posed as Marxist-Leninists but were not such, entered their ranks.

Some leaders of these parties took the problem very lightly, a thing which, naturally, was reflected in their work. They considered the breaking away from the revisionist parties as a very important act. In fact this really was an important act, but the course they were to follow, the forms and methods of organization of their work, especially the political and the organizational line which were adopted and applied, were to have greater importance. As was seen, on certain international problems and theoretical issues they took more or less correct stands, but still, in some aspects, their political line was developed in the same forms as the line of the revisionist parties were unable to make a proper judgement of the situations within their own countries and in the international field. This was so over major events in the international communist movement, for example, over the struggle against Soviet revisionism and, later, in the analyses which should have been made of the development of the situation in China, the factional struggle which was developing there and the Chinese cultural revolution. In many instances it was clear that they lacked Marxist-Leninist depth in their judgements and opinions, but had sufficient arrogance to consider their actions as indisputable. In Europe after the exposure of the Communist Party of China and the ideas of Mao Zedong, splits occurred, anti-Marxist ideas and opinions emerged, which in some cases were embraced even by their leaders. That explains why some of those small, still unconsolidated parties, which began their activity with correct aims on the Marxist-Leninist road and were for revolutionary actions, deviated. This is what happened with the Communist (Marxist-Leninist) Parties of France, Belgium, Holland, the Scandinavian countries and recently with the Communist Party of Italy (Marxist-Leninist), etc.

The Marxist – Leninist Movement and the World Crisis of Capitalism

– Tirana, August 1979

All this showed that the struggle against Chinese revisionism had to be continued with undamped relentlessness and resoluteness with the aim to totally purify the Marxist-Leninist World Movement from remainders of Maoist influence. In this regard, the 8th Party Congress of the PLA was of great importance. In his report comrade Enver Hoxha emphasized:

Our Party has waged a great, open, principled struggle against Chinese revisionism, the ideology, policy, stands and actions of the Communist Party of China. Chinese revisionism is an opportunist current in the world communist movement, and its foundation — Mao Zedong thought, is an ideology with archaic features, an amalgam of ancient Chinese theories of Confucius and Mencius and new paraphrased theories without any organic structural connection, painted up with a Marxist phraseology. Mao Zedong thought represents a hegemonic ideology of world domination, based on a heterogeneous collection of contradictory and pragmatic theorems and ideas. When China began the construction of the new Chinese state, which emerged from the liberation war, the Chinese ship wallowed confusedly, sometimes to the right, sometimes to the left, in the waters of this ideology. This was the source of those vacillations of China and that lack of definition of the character of its political and economic system.

The theory which guided the new China was not Marxism-Leninism. The Marxist slogans in Chinese characters painted on the facade gave the false impression that some features of scientific socialism existed. They prevented the continual deviations from being clearly discerned.

While the role of the dictatorship of the proletariat was being stressed in China, the dictatorship of rival groups and personalities was concealed and developed under it. While the leading role of the party was stressed, this concealed a chaotic organization and the non-existent leadership of the party. While there was talk about the hegemony of the working class, the leading role, in fact, was left to the peasantry, because it was its petty-bourgeois ideology which predominated in China. While there was talk about the alteration of class structures, in essence, nothing changed from what it was.

The Chinese economy went on limping badly, lacking any clear directive or perspective, irrespective of the existence of the so-called plan which did not have the remotest resemblance to a scientific plan, let alone a plan based on a centralized system. Indeed, it did not have even the features of a decentralized plan. The Chinese economy carried on by its own momentum. In this flabby organization and in this ideology with no backbone, the predominant idea was that of the hegemony of the great Chinese state which «had been called upon by history» to represent the new model of socialist society, to represent the «Marxism-Leninism of the new era», which was Mao Zedong thought.

In this development of China we had to discern that under the cloak of «revolution» lurked counter-revolution, that under the cloak of Mao Zedong thought lurked anti-Marxism, a trend of modern revisionism which was seeking political, ideological, organizational and state forms and structures appropriate for the «Chinese continent» and for its capitalist-imperialist aspirations.

The «anti-imperialism», «anti-Sovietism», and «anti-Americanism», which were alternately stressed in Mao Zedong's China, were temporary manoeuvres. They were not ideological convictions, were not principled stands, but were manoeuvres to balance the powerful states of the world, a game on the world chess-board with the imperialist political-military powers for the strengthening of China.

It was with these world outlooks, with these eclectic, opportunist stands, both on the internal plane of China and on the external plane, that the «Proletarian Cultural Revolution» of the Red Guards was carried out and that the revanchist «revolution» of reactionary old men and all the remnants of the old China is taking place today. These were the foundations on which the ill-fated theory of «three worlds» and of «alliances of these three worlds» was worked out and the big switches were made in Chinese international policy with very dangerous consequences for world peace.

It took our Party a fairly long time to discern this anti-Marxist course of the Communist Party of China and the Chinese state, with which we had good friendly relations. For our Party the theoretical-political essence of this friendship was very important, the question of the struggle to preserve the purity of Marxism-Leninism and the question of socialism and the revolution were important.

At first we waged a principled struggle through debates, as between comrades, but gradually it became embittered because of the anti-Marxist attitude of China. On the part of the Party of Labour of Albania, this was a struggle with no concessions, but also an unequal and difficult struggle. Had not this struggle been waged the construction of socialism in Albania would have been endangered.

The importance of the struggle of the Party of Labour of Albania lies in the fact that it destroyed two myths: that of China as a country in which socialism was being built, and that of Mao Zedong thought as the Marxism-Leninism of our time. In this struggle to defend principles our Party took account of all the economic difficulties which might be created for the country.

Mao Zedong thought, publicized as the «further scientific development of Marxism-Leninism», might have had an influence, as it did in fact on the international communist movement and on certain Marxist-Leninist parties in particular. Because of many circumstances, these parties, being quite unable to make a profound analysis of this revisionist ideological trend, thought that in great China and in Mao Zedong they had the leaders of the proletarian revolution, resolute supporters in the struggle against American imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism, natural defenders of the just national liberation wars of the peoples.

Hence, a principled and determined struggle had to be waged in order to undeceive the deceived. The Party of Labour of Albania undertook this struggle. This is an experience we have lived through and proved, both in the time when Mao Zedong himself was alive and after his death. Socialist Albania did not become isolated in the world on account of this struggle, as the Yugoslav revisionists claim. The opposite occurred. The Party of Labour of Albania and the People's Socialist Republic of Albania made their internal and international positions even stronger.

In this struggle to defend Marxism-Leninism and the revolution and to oppose the pseudo-Marxist ideology of Mao Zedong thought, other sister Marxist-Leninist parties, too, fought with wisdom and revolutionary determination and made a valuable contribution.

The exposure of China as a non-socialist country and of Mao Zedong thought as an anti-Marxist theory wiped out a dangerous illusion in the international Marxist-Leninist movement, just as had occurred with Soviet and Yugoslav revisionism and the other reactionary revisionist currents.

Any disguise, any falsification, any deviation from the scientific theory of Marxism Leninism cannot be kept up for long. Sooner or later it is exposed, because it runs counter to the ideals of the working class and the peoples who fight for freedom, for genuine democracy, for socialism, for a society without exploiters and exploited.

The present developments in China, the whole home and foreign policy of the Chinese leadership, prove that the analyses and conclusions of the Party of Labour of Albania were absolutely accurate and correct. The Chinese leadership left the field free for the development of the capitalist economy, opened the doors to the in flow of enslaving foreign capital, united in close alliance with American imperialism and the blackest international reaction. China came out openly as an aggressive imperialist power with pretensions to world hegemony. It has become one of the main centres of world counter-revolution, which fights with all means to hinder the liberation of peoples and strangle the revolution. Today Chinese revisionism has emerged openly as a reactionary current, has broken off any connection, not only with the revolutionary and liberation movements, but also with any democratic and progressive movement. In every case it takes the side of the most sinister, most obscurantist and fascist forces in the world.

The disorder, corruption, confusion and clashes, which have occurred and are occurring in China, are direct consequences of Mao Zedong thought. The criticism which the Chinese leaders today make of Mao Zedong has nothing at all in common with the Marxist criticism which we make. It has no connection with the content of his ideas which the present Chinese leaders retain and apply in practice. Their criticism is an expression of the struggle for power between different rival Maoist groups. These groups cannot reject Mao Zedong, because all of them find support and justification for their actions in his ideas. Without freeing themselves from Mao Zedong thought the Chinese proletariat and the Chinese people will be unable to find the right road which leads to socialism.

In the future, too, the Party of Labour of Albania will continue its consistent principled struggle for the complete exposure of Chinese revisionism, for the establishment of a clear-cut dividing line between Marxism-Leninism and the anti-Marxist ideas of Mao Zedong.

Without denouncing and rejecting Mao Zedong thought, without combating and eradicating any influence of it in the revolutionary movement, there can be no serious talk about the struggle against Chinese revisionism or against modern revisionism as a whole, the Marxist-Leninist movement cannot be properly consolidated and developed and the cause of the revolution carried forward successfully.

(this is the complete excerpt of the report of the 8th Congress of the PLA concerning the issue of the Chinese revisionism)

Only one year after the death of Enver Hoxha, in his report to the 9th Congress in 1986, the renegade Ramiz Alia addressed himself to the issue of the Chinese revisionism only with 4 (!) short sentences though, on the previous (!) Party Congress, comrade Enver Hoxha had insisted on this:

In the future, the Party of Labour of Albania will continue its consistent principled struggle for the complete exposure of Chinese revisionism, for the establishment of a clear-cut dividing line between Marxism-Leninism and the anti-Marxist ideas of Mao Zedong.

Comrade Enver Hoxha wrote in his Diary on December 30, 1984, shortly before his death, the following paragraph on the situation in China:

Today I want to dwell a little on the development of events in China, on the evolution of this country towards capitalism and its links with the world capitalist system, and on the deals between the two imperialist superpowers.

Our Party's forecasts about the road on which the Deng Xiaoping clique and company would lead China and its people is being confirmed to the hilt.

China has ended up completely in the orbit of world capitalism. Its links with the United States of America, in particular, are all-sided, they extend into all fields. Political, economic and military delegations are shuttling back and forth. Time and again, for the sake of making some demagogic noise, there is the odd word about some «disagreement» and «discordance», whereas, in fact, there is only agreement and accord between them.

The western capitalist-monopoly world is fully satisfied with the internal developments in China. Why should it not be satisfied? By decision of the plenum of the Central Committee of the Chinese revisionist party, it was officially decided to change the existing economic structure with the main objective of opening China up to the outside world, that is, to foreign capital; Titoite self-administration has been established in factories and plants; private property and even the use of hired labour has been restored in the rural areas; the private market and trade and the right of the private exercise of handicrafts have been revived; political rights have been recognized to 20 million Chinese, former rich peasants, landowners, counter-revolutionaries and evil elements; special economic regions, foreign capitalist enclaves, have been created in almost all the big coastal cities; the international banks and the big monopolies have been given the right of opening their agencies in Beijing and in the main Chinese cities, and many many other things.

In November of this year, Dalian, one of the big cities of China, was the venue of the «International conference on foreign investments and their legal aspects in China», with the participation of 250 Chinese and American experts, firm managers, legal experts and bankers, among them there was also the former American secretary of State, Cyrus Vance.

From 1979 until today, purchasers' loan credits from foreign governments and international organizations have reached to 12 billion and 500 million dollars, and direct foreign investments to 8 billion dollars. The Chinese minister of Finance, as the HSINHUA news agency reports, at a meeting with a delegation of the commission of the American Senate for banking, housing and town-planning, declared that «China will continue to open its doors to all countries, big and small», and that «measures have been taken and will continue to be taken to protect the interests of foreign investors.» According to him, «until the end of 1984 the foreign trade companies have invested up to 3-4 billion dollars for the setting up of enterprises with joint or separate capital in China.»

That is how the counter-revolutionary clique of Deng Xiaoping flung open not only both doors, but all the four doors of China to international monopoly capital and, in the first place, to American capital.

What are the consequences of such a situation?

About the internal situation in China we hear today the same things as those we hear about the United States of America and some other capitalist countries: the youth are going down the road of full degeneration, and violence, hooliganism, rape, etc., etc., are becoming widespread.

Deng Xiaoping and his followers, who have apparently eliminated their rivals for power, are trying under sundry disguises, including here even some theses of scientific Marxism and Mao Zedong's thought grafted on Buddhism, to find and apply a «socialism with Chinese features», that is, a monstrous socialism originating from the grafting of classical capitalism on Titoite modern revisionism.

The West describes these efforts, changes and decisions of Deng Xiaoping and his clique in China as «victories of the course of Deng Xiaoping», whereas the Titoite revisionists, in their newspaper Politika, appraise them as China's entry «into the epoch of the most revolutionary changes in its socialist history»!

The turn in the capitalist direction in China, just as occurred in Yugoslavia, the Soviet Union and the other former socialist countries, leads to the deepening of the polarization in policy and in the economy between the ruling class of the new bourgeoisie, which is growing ever richer, on the one hand, and the working masses, which are becoming ever poorer, on the other. Deng Xiaoping says that in China there is no room for the «emergence of a new bourgeoisie and for millionaires». Nonsense! The example of Yugoslavia, which he has as his guide, shows not only that a new bourgeoisie, just as oppressive and savage towards the peoples as the capitalist bourgeoisie in any other country, is emerging and fattening, but also that millionaires who make the law in every field are emerging, too. We have this example in the Soviet Union, where a new revisionist bourgeoisie has emerged which is fattening at the expense of the glorious peoples of this country which formerly was the cradle of the proletarian socialist revolution. China has been ruled by a cunning bourgeoisie and by internal and external millionaires. This rule today is expanding and growing ever stronger.

In the case of China we have to do also with a specific characteristic due to its very great geographical extension, its huge population and its colossal natural wealth. The imposition of capitalism and its mercilessly enslaving laws on the Chinese working masses will create much greater problems there than in Yugoslavia. The Titoite capitalist economy, for instance, until now has needed 20 billion dollars in order to remain on its feet. The Chinese economy will need several hundred billion dollars, which, just as in Yugoslavia, will bring along the shackles of capitalist enslavement, the ruthless plunder of the national wealth and political subjugation up to the loss of national independence.

Will the hundreds of millions of Chinese, the Chinese working class, the proletariat and the long-suffering peasantry, tolerate this subjugation? Will Deng's rivals for power in the Chinese leadership allow him to go in this career?

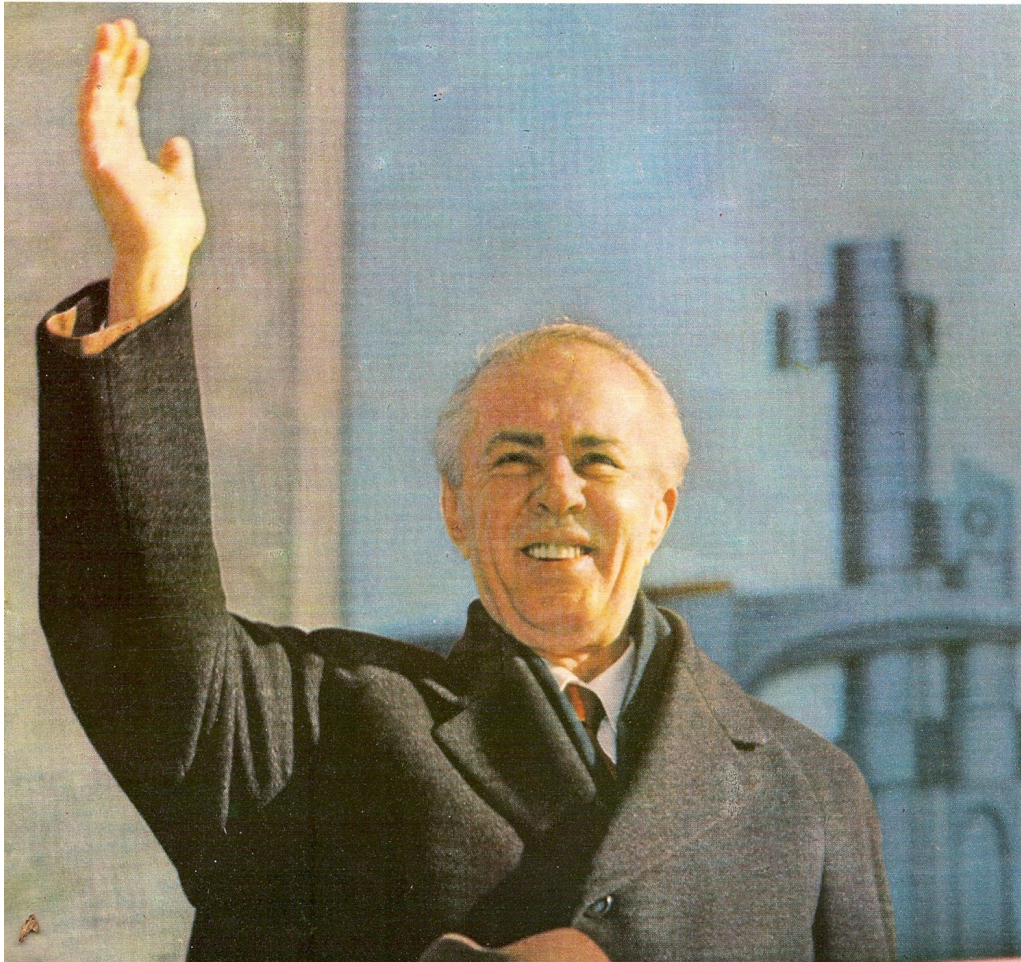
Our Party has never made unfounded allusions and forecasts. The analyses it has made hitherto have been based on concrete events and facts about China or any other country, relying on historical and dialectical materialism, on Marxism-Leninism. As I have written above, they have never proved to be false, but have been confirmed fully for the overwhelming part of them. We are convinced that the ideas expressed here in connection with the future course of events in China, after the rapid career of Deng Xiaoping towards the restoration of capitalism, which Deng calls «socialism with Chinese features», will find their confirmation in practice.

Panorama

In his report the traitor Ramiz Alia alleged that the Chinese revisionism *"has lost all its influence."* This neo-revisionist thesis was a capitulation all along the line. In truth, Ramiz Alia had burried the anti-Maoist struggle of comrade Enver Hoxha and the entire Marxist-Leninist World Movement. This betrayal was a disservice to the world bourgeoisie in general, and to the Chinese bourgeoisie in particular, a heavy blow against Marxism-Leninism, against the world proletariat and the socialist world revolution. This encouraged the Maoist world movement, to continue its fight against Marxism-Leninism and the split within the world revolutionary movement. The Maoists consolidated their position and even attempted to reconcile Maoism with Hoxhaism, with the intention to get control over the Hoxhaist World Movement. However, the Stalinist-Hoxhaists defended the revolutionary legacy of Comrade Enver Hoxha and gave never up fighting against Maoism. The Comintern (SH) defended the anti-Maoist banner of Comrade Enver Hoxha and moved on to the counterattack

see: [Declaration against War on Maoism.](#)

The struggle goes on until the total destruction of Maoism on a world scale.



**Between the 7th and 8th Party Congress
1976 - 1981**

Subsequent to the 7th Congress of the PLA which had decided on the advancement of the Marxist-Leninist general-line, comrade Enver Hoxha made a visit in towns and on the countryside all over the country (for example in the region of Vlora) to mobilize the masses, giving valuable advice for the improvement of the implementation of the decisions of the 7th Party Congress. Enver Hoxha spoke with the people not only about the new economical, political and ideological tasks for strengthening the further construction of socialism, but also about the complicated and dangerous world situation and the necessity of defending the only socialist country in the world against the capitalist-revisionist encirclement. Comrade Enver Hoxha was very outspoken:

"Our slogan must be: working, living and fighting like under siege!"

On April 3, 1977 the elections of the People's Councils took place. This was an important event for the strenghtening of the dictatorship of the proletariyat and the Democratic Front. When comrade Enver Hoxha casted his ballot, he shouted: "Long live the Party!" The elections had been a great victory and expression of the steely unity of party and the people.

On May 5, 1977 the anniversary and celebration for the "Unforgotten" of the liberation war took place. Comrade Enver Hoxha marked his respect with the following words:

Today we do not cry, you brave comrades, our hearts are strong, as yours were until recently, the entire Albanian people with you in the heart and memory of you, of your sacrifice, heroism, and your selflessness will always march forward to achieve those goals to the end, for which you gave your life!

On May 24, 1977, Enver Hoxha sent a message of salutation to the inhabitants of Gjirokastra (-the town of his birth and the district which received the honourable title of „Hero of Socialist Work“) - on occasion of the opening of the museum devoted to the teachers, who sacrificed their lifes as the pioneers of education, school and language . The establishment of schools in Albania was connected with heavy and really patriotic struggles, and only possible with the guns of the people. In Albanian history education was always part of the progressive national liberation struggle of the people. And Gjirokastra was the center of education in which Enver Hoxha grew up and in which he was educated as a patriotic son of the Albanian people.

In this message Enver Hoxha emphasized that

„words and deeds of the Party are not disengaged from the heroic history of the Albanian people“; (...) „The inner and outer enemies persecuted and tormented our honoured patriots, however beyond of this they could do nothing. They could never stop the break through of our people`s patriotism, striving for freedom and revolutionary spirit of struggle, the Albanian`s bravery and faithfulness. These attributes never flattened because these high virtues rooted for centuries and were anquored in the brains and hearts of the whole people.“

On June 20, 1977, the 8th Congress of the Albanian Labour Union (BPSH) was opened which was of significance of the implementation of the 7th Congress of the PLA. Comrade Enver Hoxha sent a salutatory address which was read out on the Congress. He wrote that the Labour Union is a school of communism on conditions of the dictatorship of the proletariat which educates the workers for the improvement of their Marxist-Leninist ideology, and for fulfilling the leading role of the working class in the socialist production, in state and society. The labour union is a chain-link and driving belt between the Marxist-Leninist Party and the working class. Its task is to strengthen the unity with the cooperative of peasants, the improvement of the relation between industry and agriculture, and the minimization of the difference between town and countryside. Its task is to struggle for the fulfillment of the 6th Five-Year-Plan. The efficiency, productivity and consolidation of the economy is required for breaking through the capitalist-revisionist encirclement. The independence of the workers' economical power plays an essential role for maintaining their political and ideological independence.

The improvement of the material-technical basis is fundamentally part of the technical-economical revolution for the construction of socialism. Last not least is the Labour Union conscious about its role within the international Trade Union Movement. It supports the struggle of the world proletariat against world capitalism. The Labour Union of Albania fights against the betrayal of the reformist-revisionist trade unions at the interests of the working class in all the capitalist countries. The Labour Union is also in solidarity with the toiling masses in the oppressed nationas and supports their liberation struggle against neo-colonialism of the imperialist and social-imperialist powers and against their reactionary lackeys within their countries. Delegations of many revolutionary trade unions from all continents of the world were invited and participated in the Congress. Comrade Enver Hoxha finished his salutary message with the words:

May the spirit of determination, the spirit of sacrifice and heroism of our glorious working class raise at work on all fronts! May the momentum and enthusiasm of the working class, women and youth, the working masses of town and country powerful burst forth, to fulfill the plan of 1977 and the entire five-year plan to making our socialist fatherland stronger, more beautiful and blooming.

On June 17, 1977, comrade Enver Hoxha delivered a speech on the meeting of the Polit Bureau concerning the theses of the prepared draft of the report of the 7th Congress of the Labour Youth Union of Albania (BRPSH - *Bashkimi i Rinisë së Punës së Shqipërisë*). This speech was published in "Zeri i Popullit" on July 13, 1977. In his speech comrade Enver Hoxha pointed to the task of the Congress - namely to decide the clear, mobilizing Marxist-Leninist line of the young generation which has a decisive meaning for the construction of socialism. The Labour Youth Union has an important role of the education of the broad masses of the Youth - namely to prepare it for the active revolutionary life on all fields. The achievements of socialism cannot be crowned with further success without the class struggle against all internal and foreign enemies. Comrade Enver Hoxha said:

The blast furnace is not working and there is no steel, if you do not remove the slag.

The class enemies do not only sabotage the present construction of socialism but they also try to paralyze the socialist perspectives of the Youth. The PLA is conscious about the danger of the degeneration of the youth by the petty-bourgeois and revisionist influences, all this smoke and mirrors, launched by capitalism from abroad. Therefore the Youth must be intensively well prepared for taking over the place of the elder comrades. The youth must always be aware and conscious about the fact that its future depends completely on the further strengthening of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Most decisive is the communist moral and the political-ideological education for the defence of the great patriotic and revolutionary traditions of the past. This speech of comrade Enver Hoxha was enthusiastically welcomed by the the Albanian youth. The youth understood its mission excellently - namely to continue the socialist revolution and to defend the great work of the party and the people. At the sharp end stood the activists of the construction of the railway section Prenjas - Guri i Kuq. On the 7th Congress of the Labour Youth Union of Albania comrade Enver Hoxha emphasized:

Make sure that the coming new generations grow as you, that they are steeling themselves on the glorious Anvil of the party of the proletariat, that fresh blood will flow into the ranks of the party. This is the only way how our party will remain always young and strong remain invincible and victorious up to reaching the communist society. Work, think, create, achieve and beware! Long live the party ! Long live the Youth !

On the 7th Congress of the Labour Youth Union of Albania participated also the delegations of revolutionary youth organisations from across the world.

In October 1977 comrade Enver Hoxha has received delegates of some Marxist-Leninist brother parties - among others, Joao Amazonas from Brazil, comrade Ernst Aust (KPD/ML) from Germany, Euduardo Pires from Portugal, Roland Pettersson from Sweden, Pablo Munez Vega from Ecuador, Antonio fernandez from Peru, Raoul Marco from Spain. The talks took place in an atmosphere of proletarian internationalism. Enver Hoxha received also a telegram from Sanmun Gatasan (Communist Party of Ceylon on occasion of the 33rd anniversary of establishing people's power in Albania.

On November 17 and 18, 1977, comrade Enver Hoxha presented a report of the Polit Bureau on the Session of the Third Plenum of the Central Committee of the PLA: "Concerning the struggle against different branches of modern revisionism within the Communist World Movement. The report was unanimously approved and decided. In his report comrade Enver Hoxha said:

"We have to discuss the question of class struggle on the international arena. Every deviation of Marxism-Leninism in the international arena has directly influence on the independence and sovereignty of our people. The renegades of Marxism-Leninism try to deceive the international communist movement by accumulating some centres of ideological and political-economical satellites. Albanian is the only socialist republic in the world which is guided by the 4 Classics of Marxism-Leninism. The world does not "revolve around us". The centre of Marxism did not simply "fly" from Germany to Albania. We only implement the theory of Marxism-Leninism on conditions of our country, and there is no doubt that this warm light has radiated all over the world. There are no limits for the implementation of the Marxist-Leninist ideology. We respect all friends and allies who helped us. But if these friends and allies betray Marxism-Leninism then we break off these relations of friendship, no matter if this causes economical difficulties for us or not. As communists we must always be at the head of the struggle against modern revisionism."

(translation from the Albanian Volume 62, November 18, 1977)

On occasion of the New Year celebrations 1977/1978 inmidst the young pioneers, comrade Enver Hoxha said:

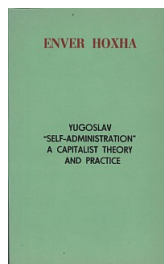
Your beautiful songs fill us with deep joy. You've gathered you here today from all parts of Albania to celebrate the new year. We welcome the entire Albanian youth and the entire Albanian people inside and outside of the country, wherever they live, on this occasion and wish them a merry and happy new year. May the love for our dear socialist fatherland strengthen even more in their hearts, in the hearts of every Albanian. We also welcome all pioneers in the world and all our communist comrades who are fighting around the world for a happy life in their countries because their live a miserable life. Our hearts are united with the hearts of all revolutionaries and pioneers of all continents of the world, who also fight and hope to come to light, like our people, our youth and our pioneers who have come to light.



To be close to children, amongst their love, to talk with these little comrades, the future citizens of the Republic, was a permanent desire for comrade Enver Hoxha. Such lovely, happy, relaxing moments occurred all through Enver Hoxha's life. At a school, during a walk, at New Year's celebrations, in meetings with outstanding pupils, in the greetings of children on Enver Hoxha's birthdays, amongst his own children and grandchildren. All these were unforgettable moments for the children and equally happy, rejuvenating moments for their beloved parent and teacher who was so dear to their hearts.

1978

In 1978 the book



"YUGOSLAV "SELF-ADMINISTRATION" - A CAPITALIST THEORY AND PRACTICE"

was published:

As the 7th Congress of the PLA pointed out, the Titoites and international capitalism are publicizing the system of «self-administration» as «a ready-made and tested road to socialism», and are using it as a favourite weapon in their struggle against socialism, the revolution and liberation struggles.

In view of its danger, I think I must express some opinions about this book.

As is known, capitalism has been fully established in Yugoslavia, but this capitalism is cunningly disguised. Yugoslavia poses as a socialist State, but one of a special kind, which the world has never seen before! Indeed, the Titoites even boast that their State has nothing in common with the first socialist State which emerged from the October Socialist Revolution and which was founded by Lenin and Stalin on the basis of the scientific theory of Marx and Engels.

Right from the start the Yugoslav renegades deviated from the scientific theory of Marxism-Leninism on the socialist State and have worked to prevent the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat, so that Yugoslavia would proceed on the road of capitalism.

On another occasion, I have explained that both prior to and after the liberation of Yugoslavia, the Titoite renegade group, which disguised itself and posed as a supporter of the socialist system established in the Soviet Union, and which trumpeted that it would build socialism on the basis of the scientific theory of Marxism-Leninism, in reality was opposed to this ideology and the Soviet revolutionary experience.

The theory and practice of Yugoslav «self-administration» is an outright denial of the teachings of Marxism-Leninism and the universal laws on the construction of socialism.

The essence of «self-administration socialism» in the economy is the idea that allegedly socialism cannot be built by concentrating the means of production in the hands of the socialist State by creating State ownership as the highest form of socialist ownership, but by fragmenting the socialist State property into property of individual groups of workers, who allegedly administer it directly themselves.

There cannot be socialist democracy for the working class without its State of dictatorship of the proletariat. Marxism-Leninism teaches us that negation of the State of the dictatorship of the proletariat is negation of democracy for the masses of working people.

The negation by the Yugoslav revisionists of the State of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the socialist social property on which it is based has led them to a decentralized management of the economy without a unified State plan. The development of the national economy on the basis of a unified State plan and its management by the socialist State on the basis of the principle of democratic centralism is one of the universal laws and fundamental principles of the construction of socialism in every country.

Otherwise capitalism is built, as in Yugoslavia. Elaborating the revisionist idea of «specific socialism», around the '50s, the Titoites proclaimed world-wide that they had definitively rejected the socialist State system and replaced it with some kind of a new system, «self-administrative socialism», in which socialism and the State are alien to each other. This revisionist «discovery» was nothing but a copy of the anarchist theories of Proudhon and Bakunin on «workers' self-administration» and «workers' factories», which have long been exposed, as well as a gross falsification of the real ideas of Marx and Lenin on the State of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The Yugoslav revisionists' views of the State are completely anarchist. It is known that anarchism calls for the immediate abolition of any kind of State, hence of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

In order to present their notorious system of «socialist self-administration» as fair and acceptable, the Titoites oppose it to the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie and the dictatorship of the proletariat. Making no distinction between capitalism and socialism, the Titoites consider all other political systems «dogmatic».

How does the problem of nations and nationalities in Yugoslavia stand?

From an objective and scientific analysis of this very difficult and troubled situation, the incontestable conclusion emerges that the national question in Yugoslavia will not be solved unless Marxism-Leninism is implemented there, that is to say, unless the so-called self-administrative capitalist order is overthrown.

As loyal servants of the capitalist bourgeoisie, the Titoites deny the proletarian revolution and the class struggle with these things they are writing. In claiming that the «consumer society» can be transformed into socialism gradually, without violent revolution, but by virtue of the «Holy Spirit», they seek to disarm the proletariat and smash its Marxist-Leninist Party.

The negation of the role of the communist party in the construction of socialism and the reduction of this role to an «ideological» and «orientating» factor is in open opposition to Marxism-Leninism. The enemies of scientific socialism substantiate this thesis by «arguing» that leadership by the party is allegedly incompatible with the decisive role which should be played by the masses of producers, who, they claim, should exercise their political influence directly, and not through the communist party, because this would bring about «bureaucratic despotism»!

Contrary to the anti-scientific theses of these enemies of communism, historical experience has shown that the undivided leading role of the revolutionary party of the working class in the struggle for socialism and communism is absolutely essential.

As is known, leadership by the party is a question of vital importance for the fate of the revolution, and the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The direct political influence of the working masses in socialist society is not in any way hampered by the communist party which represents the working class, whose interests do not run counter to the interests of the other working people.

On the contrary, it is only under the leadership of the working class and its vanguard that the working masses participate broadly in governing the country and realizing their interests. In a genuinely socialist country, such as Albania, the opinion of the working masses on important problems is directly solicited.

There has never been a classless party or State, nor there will ever be. Parties and the States are class products. That is how they came into existence and how they will be right up to communism.

The political system of «self-administration» is a brazen disguise to cover up the revisionist betrayal of Marxism-Leninism, scientific socialism and communism. The Yugoslav Titoites, as anti-Marxists, are not and never have been for the construction of socialism, but for the perpetuation of capitalism in different forms. They are trying to concoct all sorts of «theories» with the aim of, at least, delaying the process of decay of the capitalist social order, since they are powerless to halt it. For the Yugoslav revisionists, any people and any State can build socialism without basing themselves on universal laws and principles, or the Marxist-Leninist ideology. They do not accept that socialism can be only one socio-economic system and claim that various forms of socialism can exist. Deliberately misusing and distorting the correct Marxist-Leninist thesis about the creative application of the ideology of the working class in accordance with the special conditions of each country, they insist that there are no universal laws for the construction of socialism in all countries, and that every country can build a «socialism» different from the others, according to its own way.

The truth is that for the construction of socialism it is absolutely required that the concrete conditions of each country should be taken into account, but in every country socialism can be built only on the basis of Marxism-Leninism, on the basis of laws and principles common to all countries, laws and principles from which you cannot deviate if you do not wish to end up in capitalism, as Yugoslavia.

The idea expressed by Lenin, that the proletariat would lead, organize, and run the Soviet power and govern the country through its party, has been and is fundamental to the Marxist-Leninist theory. It is precisely this essential question of theoretical and practical importance that the Titoites evade, and try to disguise this deviation by distorting Lenin's correct theses.

Stalin, like Lenin, viewed democracy from the class angle, as a form of the political organization of society, as a political condition for drawing the masses into governing the country, to defend and strengthen the dictatorship of the proletariat, to block the way to revisionist degeneration and restoration of capitalism. Stalin, as the Marxist-Leninist he was, was quite correctly sternly opposed to onesided, liberal and anarchist concepts of democracy and took a stand against the petty-bourgeois distortions and misuse of the rights and freedoms that proletarian democracy ensures. And he was absolutely right. The revisionists, on the contrary, want to transform the proletarian democracy into a bourgeois democracy in theory, just as they have done in practice. This is why they are against Stalin.

The Party of Labour of Albania has consistently implemented the Marxist-Leninist doctrine on the State of the dictatorship of the proletariat and socialist democracy, the leading and indivisible role of the party of the working class and the necessity of waging the class struggle. Our historical reality proves in the most convincing manner that, when the universal laws of Marxism-Leninism are implemented, taking account of the specific features of each country, the revolution triumphs and the process of the construction of socialist society cannot be halted. The example of Albania refutes the «theorizing» of the capitalist and revisionist philosophers against the dictatorship of the proletariat, the leading role of the party, and the waging of the class struggle.

Our great victories on the front of socialist construction are due, first of all, to our loyalty to Marxism-Leninism. If we have always triumphed over our enemies, this has come about precisely because we have been principled, honest and courageous revolutionaries.

Precisely because the practice of the socialist construction in Albania has embodied the Marxist-Leninist theory, it has been subjected to attacks from the enemies of this theory and it has attracted their fire.

We will clash boldly with the opponents of our ideology, because, when it is a question of defending the Marxist-Leninist principles, we cannot engage in underhand bargaining and compromises, such as the capitalists and the revisionists want to impose on us.

The struggle between the Marxist-Leninists and betrayers of the ideology of the proletariat continues and will continue until revisionism, which emerges and develops as an agency of the bourgeoisie and imperialism, is wiped from the face of the earth. It is our duty, as Marxist-Leninists, to defend the revolutionary world outlook of the working class. In the present conditions, when Chinese revisionism has been added to the old revisionism, this task has become even more imperative. To perform this duty successfully requires us to recognize, analyse and denounce the anti-Marxist and counterrevolutionary theories and practices of enemies who, under the slogan of the «creative development of Marxism», and the «struggle against dogmatism», attack the Marxist doctrine of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the party of new type, first of all.

Socialist society grows stronger in struggle against its enemies, therefore we communists must stand in the forefront of this struggle until victory is achieved. We are revolutionaries and defend the socialist socio-economic order which is the new and most progressive order in the world, while the revisionists are reactionaries because they kowtow and capitulate to the old bourgeois order. The future is gloomy for our opponents and bright for us. However, the future does not come of itself, it must be carefully and continuously prepared with struggle in the fields of politics, ideology, economics, defence and so on.

Kardelj's book, like many others, which the bourgeoisie and international revisionism are publishing to propagate their reactionary, anti-Marxist and anti-Leninist ideas, must be exposed so that communists, workers and progressive people, who are not acquainted with the revisionist reality, or know it only slightly, are not deceived by its «left» slogans. In order to strengthen our vigilance, to be equal to the mission we are charged with as communists, we should recall Lenin's great observation, «People always have been the stupid victims of deception and self-deception in politics, and always will be, until they learn to see behind the different moral, religious, political and social phrases, declarations and promises, the interests of some particular class» (V. I. Lenin, Collected Works, vol. 19, p. 9, Alb. ed.)

On the 30th and 31st January of 1978 the Fourth Plenary Session of the Central Committee of the PLA took place on which comrade Enver Hoxha was giving a speech. The betrayal of the Chinese revisionist leaders was an expression of the dramatically increasing pressure of the whole capitalist-revisionist world whose aim it was to isolate socialist Albania and to strangle it economically. This was a critical situation and great challenge for the PLA. The total mobilization of the whole country was therefore on the agenda. Comrade Enver Hoxha submitted the most important economical measures which should be taken:

1. Development and implementation of the economical plans in consequence of the difficult situation caused by the increasing encirclement o the imperialists and revisionists.

2. - The independent development of the economy that must not be mixed up with "autarchy", but means rely on one's own forces thus mobilizing the masses who must learn zo understand the tense situation of the country. The key task is the scientific-technical revolutionizing of all productive forces.

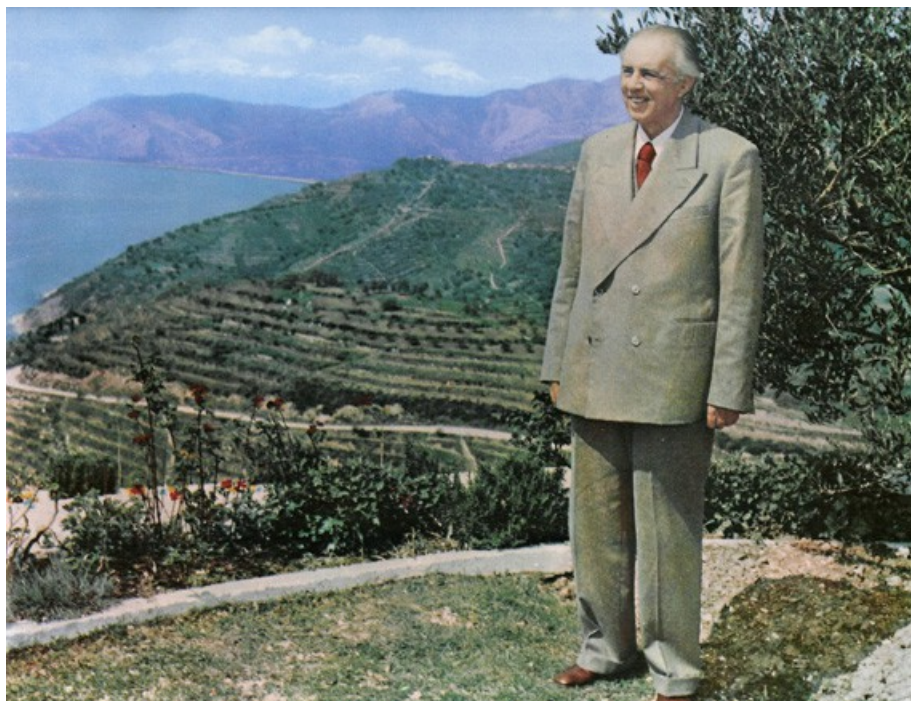
3. - Measures for the improvement of the cooperation among all fields of industry whereas the small projects are as important as the big ones.

4. - The agriculture is a decisive basis for providing the people with the necessary food products which are needed to fulfill the great efforts which have to be made.

5. - The problem of the foreign trade. The imperialist and revisionist enemies try to paralyze and to impede the commercial relations of Albania with foreign countries. Thus, this is not only an economical but moreover a political problem which has to be solved on the basis of the improvement of products for the export.

On March 14 - 1978, the following article was published:

**We must be thoroughly acquainted with the
psychology of the people and of individual
persons**



Enver Hoxha in Lukovë

1978

Visits in South-Albania

On March 15, 1978, Enver Hoxha visited the city of his birth, in the city with which he was linked by memories of his childhood and youth, by the memory of his parents who were no longer alive, of old comrades and friends and of years gone by when he began to grow to manhood, to learn and be formed as a man of the future, as a fighter for the new world. The days which Enver stayed in Gjirokastra were a great celebration for the city and the people. But they were all too short for him. For the people of Gjirokastra, too, they were all too short to express their affection for their dear son, comrade and friend. This was Enver's last visit to his Gjirokastra.

In his speeches Enver Hoxha emphasized:

We must never allow the things we have gained to be damaged. Otherwise, our people, who have fought and are fighting for the happy present and for the even more prosperous and secure future, cannot be assured of the continuation of the construction and strengthening of socialism.

Only the revisionists replace class struggle through 'scientific-technical revolution'. Every stage of development creates new conditions of progress in our socialist society. However, if the new conditions are not understood and wrongly implemented, then the country develops towards regress and not towards progress.

The Party has to understand and make clear to the masses that each stage of development, of progress, creates new conditions in our socialist society. If these new conditions are created as they should be, the country advances confidently towards progress. If these conditions are not understood and develop in distorted ways, the country does not move in the direction of progress, but towards regression. The Party must always take account of these two eventualities and fight persistently and ceaselessly for progress against regression.

The correct unfolding of class struggle, the correct accomplishment of the party's line must be revolutionary expression of voluntarily heeding the bright principles of scientific socialism for the purpose of satisfying the demands and well-being of the people. The work of communists is not finished by fulfilling this or that special task. They have also the task to lead the people, to lead the class - on a new unknown path into the future. The present line must always be combined with the perspective line according to the teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin. [excerpts from the speech:

"WHEN THE PRESENT STANDS ON STEEL FOUNDATIONS THE FUTURE IS SECURE"

- Selected Works Volume V, page 195 ff.]

On March 24, 1978, comrade Enver Hoxha visited the coastal town Saranda and on March 26 the beautiful terraced plantations of Ksamil with their orchard of citrus fruit and olives. The hand of man, the toil and sweat of the youth, added the verdant crown to the blue of the Ionian Sea. The epoch of socialism, the Party and Enver Hoxha increased the beauty of the Albanian landscape, made it more prosperous and placed its assets in the service of the people. For comrade Enver Hoxha nature, beauty and the well-being of the people were inseparable. His thinking, combined with the work of the whole people, was embodied in this amazing transformation.

Comrade Enver Hoxha said:

Exactly 19 years ago we visited this place together with the renegade Khrushchev who did not come to see oranges but wanted to establish a port for a military base of his Submarine Fleet. However, it was the PLA who had identified and unmasked the renegade Khrushchev first. And for the umpteenth time, one tries to disorient the revolutionaries, to split the Communist World Movement and sabotage the revolutionary struggle of the world proletariat and the peoples by means of the revisionist "Theory of the Three Worlds". We always tell everyone the truth openly! There are not only capitalists and revisionists in the world. They are a minority. On earth, there are Billions of honest people, fighter for the truth. These freedom fighters are our friends, the friends of Albania. We love them, and they love us. Together we are strong, while the capitalists are weak. Nobody likes swindlers and scammers. Nobody likes thieves and oppressors. Our victories must be defended. Those who sleep go to the dogs. We will not fall asleep. Only fools go to sleep.

All genuine Marxist-Leninists and honest revolutionaries, consider such attacks as attacks against themselves. And they will give them the proper answer that they deserve ! They will strengthen their efforts for the consolidation of the Marxist-Leninist World Movement on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, and they will not weaken their struggle until the final worldwide victory of the matter of the working class and communism.



"Two friendly peoples"

Comrade Enver Hoxha visited also the inhabitants of the Greek minority in Dropulli and said:

The great ideas of Karl Marx and Lenin are useful not only for the Albanians but also for the Greek minority. The communists created Greek schools as a matter of proletarian internationalism, as a matter of love, as a matter of united class struggle. We love the Greek people, and we will always love the Greek people - our comrades in arms. The river sleeps but not the enemy.

The friendship between the Albanian people and the Greek people is a lasting friendship. It will be strengthened and will flourish continuously for the good of our peoples, peace and security in the Balkans. The efforts of anyone to disrupt this friendship will fail.

For the Greek minority in Albania, Enver Hoxha was always a beloved leader, a dear friend and teacher. He himself, raised amongst a people without national prejudices, was to retain his love and respect for them and to appreciate their honesty, bravery and love for work. Later he was formed as a revolutionary and communist, these pure and sincere feelings became part of his consciousness and activity as leader of the Albanian people and the world proletariat. During the National Liberation War, the Communist Party of Albania, led by Enver Hoxha, forged the unity of the Greek minority and the Albanian people, fighting shoulder to shoulder in the common struggle for the freedom of the Homeland. Socialism strengthened this unity, because the wise and just policy of the Party brought the minority people a happy life, all-round progress, and guaranteed them equality and dignity. The line of the Party created the conditions for them to assert their individuality, to develop their culture, language and progressive traditions. The level of economic progress in the zone of the Greek minority in Albania is among the highest in the country. The education of the minority people in their mother tongue, the wealth of their folklore and other fields of the spiritual culture, have assumed great development beyond all comparison with the past. The citizens of the PSRA of Greek nationality have all the rights which all the other members of our society enjoy, and they play their respected role as workers, as leading cadres in the organs of the Party and the state, as scientists and artists.

In his book "Two friendly peoples" (Tirana 1985) excerpts of his political diary and other documents on Albanian - Greek relations can be reread. Enver Hoxha handed over this book for publication at the end of 1984. He spoke about the brilliant Greek philosophy and about that great contribution which the Greek people have made to the treasury of world culture. Just as he was an ardent patriot, he was also an ardent internationalist. He dedicated his struggle and work not only to the development and flowering of the life of the Albanian people, but also to the cause of collaboration and friendship between all the freedom-loving peoples of the world. From their generous and freedom-loving character and nature, the Albanian people are sincere friends of all the peoples of the world, whether large or small. But a traditional friendship links them with the fraternal Greek people with whom they have been united by **"a common fate, a common struggle against the same enemies"**. The more peaceful the borders are, the more secure is the peace in the Balkan Peninsula. This is also an example for the relations between other Balkan peoples in their struggle against the intrigues and plots of imperialist and social-imperialist powers, which use every means to incite hostility between the peoples of this peninsula.

8th Congress of the Women's Association of Albania

On June 1, 1978, comrade Enver Hoxha sent a Greeting Message to the 8th Congress of the Women's Association of Albania on behalf of the Central Committee of the Party.

From above, from the heights crested, we can see the glorious distance that the Albanian woman has travelled, the path of struggle for the socialist revolution, without which there can be no true liberation and emancipation of the society, including that of the women of our country. This path shows what the proletarian revolution has done for the woman, and what the woman has done for the proletarian revolution, guided by the Marxist-Leninist party.

The emancipation of the Albanian woman is one of the greatest victories of the socialist revolution. And this victory appears all the more magnificent in comparison with the situation of women in capitalist and revisionist world. There, the woman is in reality no more than a commodity that is relentlessly exploited. The women are the first victims of the severe consequences of the economic and financial crisis. They are thrown first on the road and are the most oppressed and discriminated section of society.

The militant program of the 7th Congress of the PLA can not be realized without the active participation of women. The party calls on the woman to work, because the production is not going forward without her. It calls on her to always keep the gun in her hand, because without her the country can not be defended. It calls on her to raise her Marxist-Leninist standard, her educational and cultural standard and her technical-professional standard, because otherwise the personality of the woman can not be improved. The party calls her for governance of the country, because there can be no development of democracy without her participation.

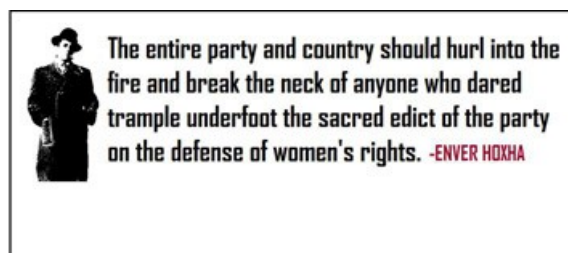
Both the men and the women must combat and overcome all remnants of the old prejudices and retrograde mentalities which prevent women from accessing full emancipation in socialist society.

In battle and at work for the building of socialism, the women of the new Albania will raise their spirit of proletarian internationalism. They will always stand on the side of progressive women who fight for their emancipation and their rights. They will stand on the side of the peoples who struggle for their national and social liberation.



Enver Hoxha on the VIII Congress of BGSHP

Durres, June 1978



On June 12, 1978, the article of comrade Enver Hoxha was published on the occasion of the celebrations of the 100th anniversary of the League of Prizren - 1878 - see link

Some thoughts on the men of the Renaissance



100th anniversary of the League of Prizren, June 1978

On June 26 and 27, 1978, the 5th Plenum of the CC of the PLA, led by the First Secretary comrade Enver Hoxha, held a meeting concerning the new situation of the national defence. This meeting was urgently necessary because of the increasing danger of aggression against Albania which was rapidly growing after the betrayal of the Chinese revisionists - namely their refusal of further deliveries of military equipments, the cancellation of the defence alliance with Albania, and dismissal of military support from China. Comrade Enver Hoxha resorted to the experiences with the dismissal of the military support by the Khrushchevites and under his leadership this problem was again solved successfully. Comrade Enver Hoxha taught that the protection of the socialist homeland is the **"duty of all duties"**:

History proves that everything that must be *achieved* with blood and sweat, must also be *defended* with blood and sweat.

As long as the capitalist-revisionist encirclement still exists, there is absolutely no period of peace. Even by means of the socialist world revolution, construction of world socialism is only relatively "peaceful" because the danger of restoration of capitalism exists. Class struggle exists as long as the class society exists. Only in the classless society of world communism we can really speak about a peaceful period of construction.

The struggle against revisionism cannot be divided from the defence of Marxism-Leninism. This is actually one and the same struggle and also valid in regard of the military question: There is no construction of socialism without its military defence. In this context the PLA, with comrade Enver Hoxha at the head, combated the narrow-minded organizational military concept of the traitor B. Balluku. The defense readiness condition of Albania was seriously damaged by the hostile activities of Balluku. After the victory over this traitor it was necessary to systematically and completely re-organizing the army.

It is clear that the stronger the socialist country is on all economic, political, ideological and cultural fields, the stronger the national defence will be. The defence of the socialist homeland is not only a matter of the army but a matter of the whole people which must be universally educated to mastering the art of the people's war on the particular conditions of Albania.

The crucial point is the revolutionizing of the political-ideological concept of defense, thus the solution of the military problem by means of the lessons of Marxism-Leninism and of the experiences of the National Liberation War. Arrangements have to be made in time for avoiding any moments of trap effects and surprise tactics by the inner and foreign enemy. The military forces and the entire people must always be in alert status. Every factory worker , every agricultural cooperative, every region of the country is in permanent contact with the army. Every member of the socialist community knows what to do, knows his place in case of an attack of the enemies.

In the time of the Zogu-Regime Albania was totally left to the enemy, and in times of the National Liberation War, the homeland was occupied by the Italian and German fascists. However, the whole territory of the socialist Albania is completely in the hands of the entire people and any attempt of invasion of the enemies will be defeated at all the four borders. The decisive factor is the inner factor without underestimating the outer factor. There is a powerful support by the progressive and freedom-loving forces all over the world and by the Marxist-Leninist World Movement. These forces would rapidly grow in case of an imperialist-revisionist aggression against Albania. But the outer factor can only be unfolded, if the inner situation is solid and self-supporting.



Enver Hoxha

participating at a military ceremony

July 1978

On July 10, 1978, comrade Enver Hoxha participated a rally of cadres of the military schools on occasion of the celebration of the 35th anniversary of the people's army. He spoke to them:

Our people's army is an army which defends the dictatorship of the proletariat and socialism, and not the bourgeoisie and her riches. Our army is a political army which is equipped with the Marxist-Leninist ideology. There is the principle that the proletarian policy is in command, and that the ideological factor has priority over the military factor.

The enemies prepare our destruction. However, we will win because our politics are correct, while their policy is wrong, unjust and aggressive. The ideology of the enemy is doomed to fail. The future belongs to our ideology. We represent the new social order, socialism, communism, while the enemies represent capitalism and imperialism, a decaying social order. The enemy must be defeated before he succeeds to occupy our country at the coasts, in the air or at the borders. The revolution will destroy world capitalism. However, the enemy will defend itself last not least by means of wars, first by means of local wars and then by the world war. We have no illusions. We take advantage of the contradictions within the capitalist-revisionist world in the service of the world revolution and of our socialist state. We have a strong heroic people's army which is educated and led by our heroic party, steeled in the battles of the proletarian class.

On September 20, 1978, the General Council of the Democratic Front met for preparing the campaign of elections on November 12, 1978. Also comrade Enver Hoxha was present. On this meeting he delivered an important speech:

PROLETARIAN DEMOCRACY IS
GENUINE DEMOCRACY

(Speech delivered at the meeting of the General Council of the Democratic Front of Albania) (September 20, 1978)

The elections for the People's Assembly will strengthen the people's power emerged from the glorious struggle for national liberation and which was steered in hard battles for building socialism. With its free and democratic vote the Albanian people is determined to express the dictatorship of the proletariat under the leadership of the party. This is the safe weapon to defend the victories, the great guarantee to always continue leading the cause of socialism in Albania, and is always pure and strong. These elections will always serve as the continued expansion and strengthening of our socialist democracy, which is a key feature of our national power and our lives. (Radio Tirana – September 23, 1978)

The connection and interaction between the base and the superstructure, in which the principal role is played by the economic base, as well as the continuous revolutionization of our socialist superstructure, have convinced our people about the correct road of progress of our socialist society. The working class, its Marxist-Leninist vanguard, have led us on the course of the construction of socialism, and that is why great successes have been achieved on this road.

In the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, the working class, the cooperative peasantry and other working people exercise power through the representative organs as well as directly. In Albania the masses of the people actively participate in governing the country, in managing the economy, in discussing laws and economic plans, in checking up on the activity of the organs of power, and so on. They have the right to air their views freely on all problems of social or personal interest.

They have been given this right by the Party under the Constitution, therefore, in socialist Albania alone can there be talk of genuine democracy in the full meaning of the word, which is not only proclaimed in words but guaranteed in deeds as well. These rights are formally proclaimed by the bourgeois and revisionist Constitutions, too, but in reality, they do not guarantee the premises for the implementation of the rights proclaimed.

Attacking the bourgeois deception of the so-called equality of rights in the capitalist state, Stalin wrote that they «Talk of equality of citizens, but they forget that there can be no genuine equality between boss and worker, between landowner and peasant so long as the former are in possession of wealth and political power in society and the latter are deprived of both, so long as the former are the exploiters and the latter the exploited.» (J. V. Stalin. Works, vol. 14, p. 61, Alb. ed.) Our Constitution reads: «All state power in the People's Socialist Republic of Albania emanates from and belongs to the working people.» Our Marxist-Leninist Party is inspired and nourished by the Marxist-Leninist ideology and its only aim is to raise the wellbeing of the people, to complete the construction of socialism under the dictatorship of the proletariat. Let those who think that there is no freedom for citizens and no democracy, because there is no plurality of parties and no endless talking in parliament in Albania, say what they will. The most complete freedom for the working masses in the most appropriate and democratic forms, exists here, otherwise the country would not have flourished as it has and the monolithic unity of the people around the Party could not have been achieved. Our Party-people unity is the key to our victories, and it is precisely with the intention of corroding this golden key that the capitalist and revisionist enemies resort to the most cynical calumnies.

In some of the non-socialist countries the «democracy» is expressed formally in the organization of many parties which, in the course of campaigns for parliamentary elections, through their powerful influence on the working masses, by deceiving them and rigging the elections and manipulating their results, manage to send a group of their deputies to parliament. The deputies of these parties are nothing but deceitful politicians specialized in defending the order in power, and strengthening the capitalist state positions of the trusts and monopolies. In parliament, they pretend to have given «freedom» and «democracy» to their country and people. No matter how much the bourgeois deputies engage in idle talk about «human rights», in the final analysis, it is capitalism, the big bourgeoisie, which rules there, and now and then shares power with the middle bourgeoisie and keeps under its domination the proletariat, the poor peasantry and the rest of the working people, such as the artisans and the poor intellectuals, a social stratum whose revolutionary spirit has been weakened by unemployment and hunger. When the masses of the people go beyond the guidelines set by political parties, in their demands and insist on really securing the true freedoms and rights that belong to them, then the forces of capitalist law and order step in and drown their protests in blood. World history has innumerable facts of this kind. But what is bourgeois democracy in reality? It is a form of the domination by the bourgeoisie, while the rights and freedoms, though proclaimed «for everybody», have an utterly formal and deceptive character, because in the conditions of the existence of private property, the socio-economic means which would ensure the actual implementation of these rights and freedoms do not exist. The laws which are approved in bourgeois and revisionist parliaments express the will of the ruling class and defend its interests. The parties of capital which make up the parliamentary majority benefit from these laws. But the other parties, those which are allegedly in the opposition and often represent the interests of the worker aristocracy and the rich peasants, do not fail to benefit either. These «opposition» parties, which are allegedly opposed to the parties of the parliamentary majority, which support big capital, clamour, «criticize», and so on, yet all their clamouring does nothing to end unemployment, emigration, or inflation. However much the opposition may shout in parliament, prices go up, degeneration and dissipation increase, crimes, killings, hold-ups and kidnappings, go on day and night in the streets, becoming more and more alarming. And the capitalists and revisionists call this chaos and confusion, this freedom for evil-doers to perpetrate crimes, «genuine democracy»! Under imperialism, the turn is made from democracy to reaction. A society which defends and is based on the exploiting order is neither progressive nor democratic. The capitalist bourgeoisie and the revisionists attack us because we base ourselves firmly on the dictatorship of the proletariat. They level the accusation at us communists that in our society the individual allegedly counts for nothing! This is a gross slander designed to cover up the brutal oppression of the proletariat and the working people by capital. The existence of antagonistic classes is the source of the suppression of the personality of man and the

working masses. On the contrary, if there ever exists a social system which really frees man from anguish, worries, mean feelings of jealousy and the old idealist hangovers, this is the socialist social system which is the only system that brings about the elimination of exploiting classes, private property and puts an end to the exploitation of man by man.

«The dictatorship of the proletariat alone,» Lenin teaches us, «emancipate humanity from the oppression of capital, from the lies, falsehood and hypocrisy of bourgeois democracy — democracy for the rich — and establish democracy for the poor, that is, make the blessings of democracy really Capitalist exploitation cannot be carried out without intensive political propaganda to befuddle people's minds or without a number of drastic laws which place maximum restrictions on workers' rights.»

What modern revisionism has on its agenda is reformism, which constitutes the essence of its views, theories and practices. Reformism is opposed to the Marxist- Leninist ideology and the over-throw of capitalism through the violent revolution. The driving force of the proletarian revolution is the merciless class struggle by the proletariat and its allies, the poor peasantry and the other oppressed strata, against the bourgeoisie, state monopoly capital and finance capital, whereas reformism negates the necessity for the class struggle, the socialist revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat. Our Marxist-Leninist theory has made it quite clear that there can be no transition to socialist society while remaining within the framework of the capitalist order, but only by overthrowing this order and its institutions from their foundations, by setting up the state power of the proletariat, which is led by its vanguard — the Marxist-Leninist communist party. Socialism puts man in such a position that he feels and sees for himself that he is not isolated from the world, but is a member of a new society, which has as its aim the advance of the individual within the framework of the development of the society. In this society man is raised to his rightful place, on the basis of his abilities and the work he does, he is free to work and enjoy the fruit of his toil. Neither the bourgeois, the capitalist, nor the revisionist can understand the freedom of the individual in our society because they measure individuality with their own yardstick of the standardization and manipulation of people.

The representative organs of the people in the state power are the People's Assembly and people's councils. Under the Constitution of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania «the representative organs direct and control the activity of all other state organs, which are responsible before them and render account to them.»

The policy of the Front is a policy which supports and complies with the interests of the struggle which the world proletariat and the suffering and oppressed peasantry of any country are waging; it supports the struggle of the urban poor, the progressive intelligentsia, youth, all those who want to build a dignified, worthy and decent life, a life in which everything is earned with toil which must not serve to fill the pockets of thieves and capitalists.

In the same time a Volume of selected writings of the works of Comrade Enver Hoxha "About the dictatorship of the proletariat" was published in Albanian language:

"The dictatorship of the proletariat means broadest, deepest and most complete democracy for the working people. Securing a broad socialist democracy is a basic condition for the preservation and consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat itself, and vice versa, the dictatorship of the proletariat is a necessary condition for the existence of a decisive true democracy for the working people "(p. 671).

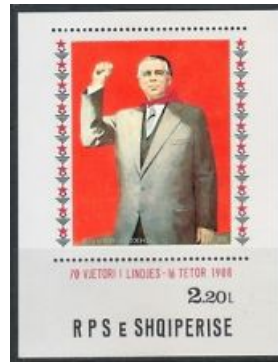
"The experience of our free and independent country," writes Comrade Enver Hoxha, "shows that without the dictatorship of the proletariat, the victory of the revolution can not be secured, the resistance of the external and internal enemies is not removed, their activity is not suppressed , the defense the socialist fatherland is not guaranteed and the building of socialist society and communist society can not be achieved"(p. 499).

The crucial historical significance of the dictatorship of the proletariat is confirmed clearly by the negative experience of the Soviet Union and some other countries, "which produced the abandonment of the principles of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Revisionism is the most dangerous weapon of counter-revolution, leading to the destruction of the socialist system, restoration of capitalist slavery, to social fascism "(p. 670).

"Therefore," emphasizes Comrade Enver Hoxha, "was and remains the attitude toward the dictatorship of the proletariat a corner stone that separates the Marxist-Leninists and the true proletarian revolutionaries of any kind opportunists and renegades of the working class" (p. 670).

As Comrade Enver Hoxha stressed, the party is of the firm conviction that "the complete or partial abandonment of the dictatorship of the proletariat is not unstoppable. In the contrary, it is entirely possible that the dictatorship of the proletariat, once it is established, in its chain members and in every respect always remains pure, untouched and unwavering and it is continually being developed and perfected "(p. 516).

"Under the leadership of the party and the working class, the masses of the people must be ready to defend always and in all things, the achievements of the dictatorship of the proletariat, their laws, their ideology, their policies. This is the only correct and healthy path - up to the end "(p. 484)



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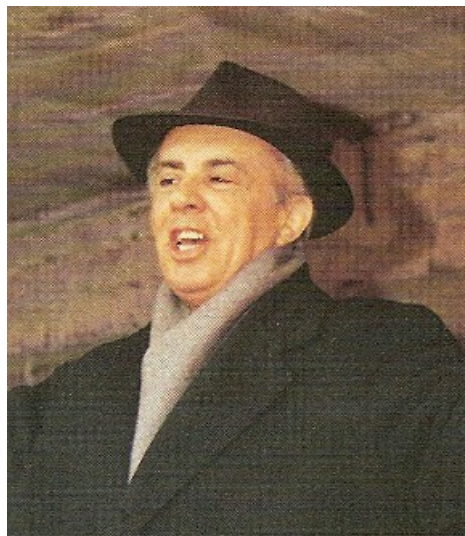
on occasion of the 70th birthday - 1978

On October 16, 1978, comrade Enver Hoxha celebrated his 70th birthday. In the greeting message of the Central Committee of the PLA can be read:

Dear Comrade Enver

Your life and work of an indomitable Communist, of a proletarian leader and teacher are - also in the future - are for us, your comrades and comrades, a great example of enthusiasm in our struggle and in our work for the consistent application of the Marxist-Leninist line of the Party, for the consolidation of their monolithic unit for the continuous increase and consolidate its leading role.

Once again, we wish you, dear Comrade Enver, health and long life. Lead us - the party and people - always in the great class battles against imperialism and revisionism, which are to be expected - up to new heights of socialism, to the glory of Marxism - Leninism.



Enver Hoxha - 1978

On October 14, 1978, on occasion of his 70th birthday, the Car-Tractor-Combine received the honourable name "ENVER HOXHA". Comrade Hysni Kapo said in his speech, among other things:

"The Central Committee of the Party has, as you know, decided to naming the State Combine of Cars and Tractors: *"Enver Hoxha"*. This is a sign of boundless love and deep gratitude that we feel for Comrade Enver Hoxha on occasion of his 70th Birthday, namely the whole party, our heroic working class, our people and particularly your own wonderful collective.

The correct and consistent revolutionary party line, the shiny ideas, advices and teachings of Comrade Enver and his whole work that is based on the theory of Marxism-Leninism on the concrete conditions of our country, are a great source of enthusiasm and a guide for our communists and all our people on the bright path of socialism. A major source of revolutionary goad and education for all Communists and all the working people of our country were and are the heroic struggles of Comrade Enver at the top of the PLA and our State. His vision and his unwavering attitude was unstoppable in the face of all the storms and waves because based on Marxism-Leninism and the correct line of the party. The car and tractor combine *"Enver Hoxha"* has played a very important role for the rapid development of our economy and it will continue to do so. The new plant, which we are inaugurating today, is another victory for the correct Marxist-Leninist policy of our heroic party that consistently followed the Leninist principle to build socialism on our own forces. In spite of many obstacles and difficulties caused by the Chinese leadership, our competent workers, technicians, engineers and specialists mobilized with their golden hands all their mental and physical powers, making the night to day and planned, built, assembled and finally brought into service the factory in record time and in high quality.

The beloved leader of our Party and our people, Comrade Enver Hoxha, visited the tractor factory four and a half years ago, on 14 April 1974. Back then he said among other things:

"The party has entrusted to you a great work. Make your efforts to increase the production of new products for the needs of agriculture."

This recommendation of Comrade Enver, this directive of the party, was implemented in the deed, thanks to the creative skills and energies of your collective of talented workers, technicians, foremen and engineers. With your great work, and with the many products that you will generate and create, you will further strengthen the alliance between the working class and the cooperative farmers. In the fight for achieving the tasks of the 7th Congress, you have won another big victory. You have made another very valuable gift to the economy and the people: with your own forces you have made the first Albanian 75-hp utility tractor and now you have set all forces from a 55-hp to construct aggregate engine for tractors and combine harvesters. The Central Committee of the Party and the government congratulate you for this great victory and wish you always greater success in your work.



Enver Hoxha - elections

November 1978

On November 8, 1978 comrade Enver Hoxha delivered a speech on a meeting with the voters in his electoral district number 209, in Tirana:

"Albania is moving forward - safely and fearlessly":

In the capitalist countries, they wonder about the results of our elections and ask: Is there nobody in Albania who dislike the ruling regime? They judge on us by their bourgeois ideas, and they can not imagine that the overwhelming majority of our people is directly connected to the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat, which is the most democratic and progressive all over the world. Socialism has brought the Albanian people much good that cannot be compared with any other social system. Under these circumstances, the part of the few voters, who may be against our socialist system, knows very well that the great power of the people is absolutely expressed in their own state power. These few voters realize that it is useless to vote against the Democratic Front. There are not the slightest obstacle to vote freely in the elections. On the contrary, freedom is guaranteed for all.

In the People's Socialist Republic of Albania antagonistic classes with irreconcilable interests do not exist anymore. The private property and the exploitation of man by man was eliminated and prohibited. During the election campaign there is no jungle warfare as can be seen in the capitalist and revisionist countries.

Our elections are not manipulated by people or parties, who think only about maximization of the riches of the different bourgeois capitalist groups. Our elections are elections on conditions of the dictatorship of the proletariat. They are inspired by the party of the proletariat. The party aims for increasing the prosperity of the people, its cultural and educational standard, its defense potential, and for securing freedom and independence.

1979

Comrade Enver Hoxha was always analysing the world events all over the world by means of the method of the dialectical and historical materialism, having in mind their different and significant influence on the further development of the world revolution. Until today, all his notes in his diaries all his books and speeches, comments in "Zeri i Popullit" etc., are very helpful and encouraging for the right orientation, for the inspiration, and for the confidence of victory of the Albanian People, of the international communists and revolutionaries, and the entire world proletariat and the peoples.

An excellent example is his following article in «Zëri i popullit»:

***THE IRANIAN WORKING CLASS CAME OUT ON THE BATTLEFIELD,
OVERTHREW THE SHAH AND SHOOK THE CAPITALIST WORLD"***

**(Article published in the newspaper «Zëri i popullit») (February 18, 1979) p. 708
- selected works, Volume V)**

The imperialists and revisionists have never really understood the social phenomena, and they can never properly understand and interpret them. They judge by their fossilized schemes that have been spawned by their anti-historical, selfish class interests. Their counter-revolutionary hatred does not allow them to analyze even a single social phenomenon objectively or foresee even a single situation. The events burst in their hands like bombs.

The revolution in Iran is not, as the revisionists in Beijing claiming the work of agents. It is also not the result of modernization, as it is interpreted by the politicians of the West. It is the result of the outbreak of the many contradictions of the Iranian feudal and bourgeois society, is the outbreak of popular indignation and hatred of the people which have been accumulated against the tyranny of the Shah and the imperialist domination for decades. It is the result of the determination of the people, namely to change miserable life, which is forced on them by the exploiting classes.

The image of the people of Iran may appear religious, but in actions and especially in this revolution, the people were very progressive and very objective.

The people of Iran rose up and shed their blood for the overthrow of the monarchy and the establishment of a democratic republic in the country, for the press - and freedom of assembly, for the eradication of feudal corruption and punishing the oppressors and exploiters, for social equality and justice etc., etc.

Starting from the basic development trends of today's world, the Albanian Party of Labour has stressed that the question of revolution and liberation of the peoples is not only an ideal and a desire, but a problem, whose solution is pending. The uprising of the Iranian people confirms this. It is, however, neither the first nor the last confirmation. The example of Iran will influence all the other countries. The given conditions in many countries make revolutionary upheavals inevitable.

Primarily showed the events in Iran, that the Iranian proletariat was the driving force in this democratic revolution, that it went on the streets, in bloody clashes with the reaction. This indomitable proletarian force was manifested not only in the struggle against the Shah, but also against the foreign imperialism.

Contrary to the claims of the bourgeoisie and the revisionists, these events confirm the basic thesis of Marxism-Leninism: It is essential that the working class enters the battlefield for the triumph of the revolution, for the liberation of the people from the national and social yoke.

The working class is the decisive force in the development of society, the guiding force for the revolutionary transformation of the world. The working class is the main productive force of society, the most progressive class which is at most interested in the national and social liberation, in socialism. The working class is the carrier of the best traditions of the revolutionary organization and the revolutionary struggle. In Iran, it was the working class who defied the tanks and machine guns of the Shah. Above all, it was their general strike, particularly the oil workers who paralyzed the country's life. Already before there were demonstrations and rallies against the Shah but it was only after the oil pumps were turned off, after the trains stopped, and after the power stations provided no electricity any more. Only after these actions of the Iranian proletariat the feudal ruling class was shaken to the core. The Shah fled to his friend in Morocco and the Bakhtiar government was overthrown. The working class showed to everybody that it was the real power in the country, and not the many hundred thousand strong army of the Shah, and neither the U.S. arms nor the billions of oil dollars, which were deposited at the Banks of Tehran. The proletariat showed its crucial role in the struggle for the democratic revolution, its leading role within all the social forces. The future belongs to the working class.

The events in Iran also confirmed another important theory of Marxism-Leninism, namely that the revolution can not do without violence, that it will not be victorious without bloodshed. The Shah's regime resisted until the last cartridge. Until the last second it was defended by the American imperialists, the Chinese social-imperialists, the international monopolistic bourgeoisie, the kings and sheiks. If the Iranian people would have followed the sermons of the Khrushchevites ("the path of peace"), the sermons of the Euro "communists" ("structural reforms"), or the "Three World Theory" of the Chinese social imperialists, then the reign of the clique of the Shah and the imperialists would be continued quiet and undisturbed - as this can be compared with many countries around the world. But the Iranian people themselves had no illusions. They were not afraid of the revolution, did not fear the bloody fight and sacrifices. They were decided to gain their freedom and independence, and they threw off the heavy yoke that weighed on their shoulders.

That is the great current significance of the Iranian revolution for all other peoples who suffer under a double oppression - oppression by the foreign rule, and the rule of the local reactionary cliques. The revolution in Iran shows that under the present conditions the freedom and independence from the imperialist rule can not be achieved, that neo-colonialism is not eliminated and the full national sovereignty can not be established, if the domestic cliques are not combated, which are connected with the foreigners or purchased by them. It depends on the true revolutionary forces how far the radical reforms will be pushed forward. It depends of the further development of the spirit of the revolution how far the revolution will raise from a lower level to a higher level. Lenin stresses that the revolution is a serious matter and that you can not play with it, that you must lead it to the end, in case if it has already begun. The revolution in Iran is still in development, and one can not forecast whether it achieves all set goals. The fact is that the forces of internal reaction and imperialist forces are trying to make a counter-revolution, whether through direct violence from within, or by military intervention from outside, or by the peaceful degeneration of the revolution, by the gradual transfer into its opposite. To lead the revolution to the end, for the Iranian people this means to increase their vigilance to the extreme. They must not allow to be taken by surprise, that they do not fall back under the yoke of foreign imperialists, the Americans, the Soviets or others who want to recapture their privileges. They want to restore their old licenses and positions by means of new forms of maneuvers, intrigues, compromises, corruption etc

After the destruction of the Shah's administration new organs of power will now be created in Iran. The direction of this process is of great importance. It can be progressive, but it can also be regressive. Both possibilities exist. To occupy the leading positions of power, the Iranian people must completely destroy the entire base and superstructure of the feudal Shah's monarchy.

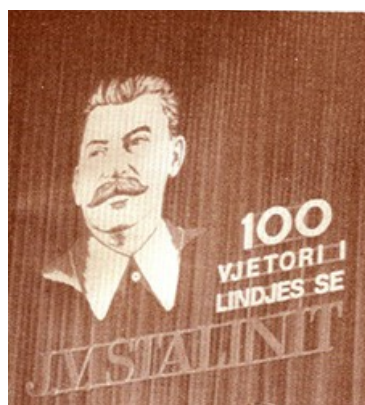
It must not be replaced by the bourgeois dictatorship thus by the so-called bourgeois "democracy". The old feudal system is not allowed to penetrate into leading positions illegally. Every endeavour has to be made that the power remains in the hands of the revolutionary people. The people must make efforts so that those who are tackling the great social and economic reforms, must become their most faithful and influential representatives.

.Of course, it is no easy task to move from one stage of the revolution to another and to lead it to the end. But the progressive forces must gain ground step by step, occupy solid democratic and progressive positions against all those remnants of the traditional feudalism of the past.

The working class, the poor peasantry, the simple soldiers must steeling their Marxist-Leninist party, the party of the workers, peasants and soldiers. They must make good use of the new objective and subjective situation in the country. They must cope with all the pseudo-communists purchased by the Soviets, the euro communists, the Maoists. And they must also cope with the provocative "communist parties" that are created by the agencies of the U.S. and British imperialism.

Today, the Marxist-Leninist Communist, the true revolutionaries, have more than ever, their place in the vanguard of the struggle against reaction, against the intrigues and interference of the Soviet social-imperialism and others. In these very important moments that are going through a revolution, the Marxist-Leninists can be neither sectarian nor opportunistic. Not for a single moment, they must get involved in those who are playing games to deceive the people with a thousand perils. They must not fall in the traps of those who serve the foreign superpowers under diverse masks.

A country in revolution which holds in hands a powerful gun such as that of oil, that consists of such a brave people, who tear down an old and rotten world, to build a new world - such a people is able to defend themselves against any enemy. The fight of the Iranian people which toppled the despotic rule of the Shah, which dealt a severe blow to the U.S. imperialism and the whole capitalist world, also helps the liberation struggle of all peoples, the cause of democracy and progress in the world. Therefore, we Albanians have very great respect to the Iranian people, and we bow to those who heroically fought on the streets of Iran and gave their lives for the victory of the revolution. Therefore, we want that their desires and aspirations will be realized - namely to live free, independent and sovereign in their homeland.



On March 20, 1979, the CC of the PLA under the leadership of comrade Enver Hoxha made decisions on preparing the activities on occasion of the celebration of the Centenary Birthday of comrade Stalin:

The Party of Labour of Albania considered and considers the defense of JV Stalin and his work as a major principled question. We defend the matter of Stalin, that is: to defend Marxism-Leninism, the revolution, the dictatorship of the proletariat; to be a determined fighter against imperialism, the world bourgeoisie and against every kind of revisionism; to fight for the cause of freedom and independence of the peoples; to hold high the banner of proletarian internationalism. The Central Committee of the PLAT has decided to grandly celebrate the 100th Birthday of JV Stalin in our country:

- 1. Organizing a wide-ranging political, ideological and propaganda campaign about the life and work of JV Stalin. This campaign will serve to get more thoroughly acquainted with the great theoretical and practical revolutionary legacy of JV Stalin, for the purpose of the fight based on the construction and defense of our socialist fatherland by our own forces, to be inspired by his life and work for the fight against imperialism, revisionism and reaction.**
- 2. In this country, lectures, discussions and other events with the toiling masses will take place in the city and country in order to propagate the doctrine of Stalin, his idol in the fight for the cause of revolution and socialism. On the eve of his birthday celebration conferences will be organized in Tirana and in all districts.**
- 3. With the aim to familiarize as much as possible with the theoretical heritage of JV Stalin, some of his most important works are reprinted. It will be prepared by means of albums, photo exhibitions and exhibitions, and other illustrative material.**
- 4. The Institute of Marxist-Leninist Studies at the Central Committee of the PLA and the Party School "Lenin" organizing an anniversary conference on the life and works of JV Stalin.**
- 5. By means of cultural and artistic activity the 100th birthday of Stalin will be highly valued. On this ceremonial occasion films are to be shot and presented, together with television programs. Works of art are to be created and exhibited.**
- 6. Party committees, mass organizations, educational, cultural and scientific institutions should develop special programs and measures for performing the best possible organization of all activities on the 100th Birthday of J. V. Stalin.**

In December 1981, the "Nentori"-Publishing house published the famous book of Enver Hoxha:

"With Stalin"

(Memoirs)

which he had written on the occasion of the centenary of the birth of the fourth Classic of Marxism-Leninism. Comrade Enver Hoxha described all his five meetings with comrade Stalin which took place in July 1947, in March/April 1949, in November 1949, in January 1950, and in April 1951. He wrote:

December 21 this year marks the centenary of the birth of Joseph Stalin, the much-beloved and outstanding leader of the proletariat of Russia and the world, the loyal friend of the Albanian people, and the dear friend of the oppressed peoples of the whole world fighting for freedom, independence, democracy and socialism.

Stalin's whole life was characterized by an unceasing fierce struggle against Russian capitalism, against world capitalism, against imperialism and against the anti-Marxist and anti-Leninist currents and trends which had placed themselves in the service of world reaction and capital. Beside Lenin and under his leadership, he was one of the inspirers and leaders of the Great October Socialist Revolution, an unflinching militant of the Bolshevik Party.

After the death of Lenin, for 30 years on end, Stalin led the struggle for the triumph and defence of socialism in the Soviet Union. That is why there is great love and respect for Stalin and loyalty to him and his work in the hearts of the proletariat and the peoples of the world. That is also why the capitalist bourgeoisie and world reaction display never-ending hostility towards this loyal discipline and outstanding, resolute co-fighter of Vladimir Ilyich Lenin.

Stalin earned his place among the great Classics of Marxism-Leninism with his stern and principled struggle for the defence, consistent implementation and further development of the ideas of Marx, Engels and Lenin.

Before the body of Lenin, Stalin pledged that he would loyally follow his teachings, would carry out his behests to keep the lofty title of the Communist pure, to safeguard and strengthen the unity of the Bolshevik Party, to preserve and ceaselessly steel the dictatorship of the proletariat, to constantly strengthen the alliance of the working class with the peasantry, to remain loyal to the end to the principles of proletarian internationalism to defend the first socialist state from the ambitions of the local bourgeois and landowner enemies and the external imperialist enemies, who wanted to destroy it, and to carry the construction of socialism through to the end in one sixth of the earth.

Joseph Stalin kept his word. At the head of the Bolshevik Party he knew how to lead the construction of socialism in the Soviet Union and to make the great Homeland of the Russian proletariat and all the peoples of the Soviet Union a colossal base for the world revolution. He showed himself to be a worthy continuer of the work of Marx, Engels and Lenin, and gave brilliant proof that he was a great, clear-minded and resolute Marxist-Leninist.

Consistent Marxist-Leninist revolutionary ideas run like a red thread through all Stalin's thoughts and Works, whether written or applied in practice. No mistake of principle can be found in the works of this outstanding Marxist-Leninist. His work was well weighed up in the interests of the proletariat and the working masses, in the interests of the revolution, socialism and communism, in the interests of national liberation and anti-imperialist struggles. He was not eclectic in his theoretical and political opinions, nor was he vacillating in his practical actions. He who relied on the sincere friendship of Joseph Stalin was confident in his onward march towards a happy future for his people. He who deviated could not escape the keen vigilance and judgement of Joseph Stalin. This judgement had its roots in the great ideas of the Marxist-Leninist theory which had crystallized in his brilliant mind and pure soul. Throughout his whole lifetime he knew how to keep a firm hold on the helm and steer a correct course to socialism amongst the waves and storms created by enemies.

In the existing situation the peoples of the world, the world proletariat, logical people with pure hearts, can judge for themselves the correctness of Stalin's stands. But people can judge the correctness of his Marxist-Leninist line only in a broad political, ideological, economic and military panorama. Up till yesterday, the bourgeoisie and the revisionists, falsifying history through their propaganda, have blackened Stalin's activity in people's minds, but now that people are clear about what the Khrushchevites, Titoites, Maoists, the Eurocommunists and others are, and what the Hitlerites were, what the American imperialists and world capitalism are, they know why Stalin fought, why the Bolsheviks fought, why the proletarians and true Marxist-Leninists, are fighting, and what their enemies, the currents and trends in the service of capitalism and the revisionists fight for. Those who think that communism has "failed" always have been and will surely be disappointed. Time is proving every day that our doctrine is alive and omnipotent. Any person who assesses Stalin's work as a whole can understand that the genius and communist spirit of this outstanding personality are rare in the modern world. The great cause of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, the cause of socialism and communism, is the future of the world.

We Albanian communists have successfully applied the teachings of Stalin, in the first place, in order to have a strong steel-like Party, always loyal to Marxism-Leninism, stern against the class enemies, and have taken great care to preserve the unity of thought and action in the Party and to strengthen the unity of the Party with the people. We have followed Stalin's teachings on the construction of socialist industry and the collectivization of agriculture, and have scored major successes. Our Party and people will fight for the constant strengthening of the close alliance of the working class with the peasantry under the leadership of the working class. We will never be deceived by the flattery and tricks of enemies, whether Internal or external, but will continue the class struggle, both internally and externally, and will always be vigilant towards their evil activity. Otherwise, if we had not proved vigilant, if we had not applied the teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin faithfully, Albania would have sunk into the mire of modern revisionism, would no longer be independent and socialist, and we would no longer have the dictatorship of the proletariat, but slavery to the imperialist-revisionist powers.

Our Party and people will continue the road of Karl Marx, Frederick Engels, Vladimir Ulyanov-Len'in and Joseph Stalin. The future generations of socialist Albania will loyally follow the line of their beloved Party. The Albanians, communists and non-party patriots, bow in respect to the memory of the glorious teacher, Joseph Stalin. On the occasion of the centenary of his birth, we remember with devotion the man who helped us, who enabled us to multiply the forces of our people whom the Party made the all-powerful masters of their own destiny. For the deed of the liberation and the construction of socialism in our country also we are indebted to the internationalist aid of Stalin. His rich and very valuable experience has guided us on our road and in our activity. In this jubilee year, our Party is engaged in continuous wide-ranging activity to make the glorious life and work of the great Marxist-Leninist Joseph Stalin even better known. All the 'activity of our Party, from its founding to the present day, testifies to its love and respect for and loyalty to the immortal doctrine of our great classics, and hence to the ideas of Joseph Stalin. And so it will be in our country, generation after generation.

I, as a militant of the Party, as one of its leaders, whom the Party has honoured by sending me several times to meet Comrade Stalin, to talk with him about our problems, our situation and to seek his advice and help, have tried to record my recollections of these meetings at the proper time, just as I have felt and seen the behaviour of Stalin towards the representative of a small party and people like ours. In making these simple memoirs available for publication, I proceeded from the desire to help our communists, working people and youth become acquainted with the figure of that great and immortal man. In this glorious anniversary, I bow in devotion and loyalty to the Party and the people that gave birth to me, raised me and tempered me, and to Joseph Stalin who has given me such valuable advice for the happiness of my people and left indelible memories in my heart and mind.

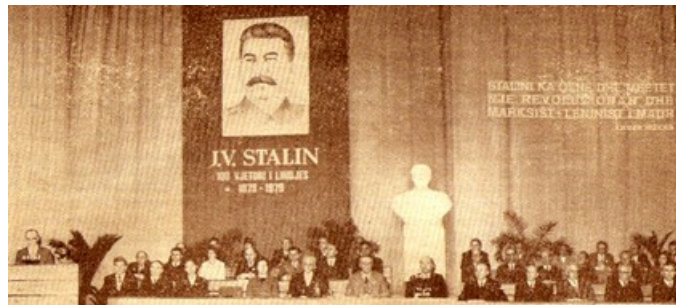
For us Marxist-Leninists and the innumerable sympathizers with the lofty ideals of the working class throughout the world, this centenary must serve to strengthen the fighting unity of our ranks.

When we are convinced that we are acting correctly, we Albanian communists, linked with our people like flesh to bone, do not heave to in the face of even the fiercest storm. And we are convinced that we shall weather any storm, just as the Bolshevik Party and the Soviet Power did, just as the great Captains of the revolution, Lenin and Stalin, weathered them.

Enver Hoxha's last sentences of his great book were the following:

I shall always retain fresh and vivid in my mind and heart how he looked at that moment when from the tribune of the Congress he enthused our hearts when he called the communist parties of the socialist countries "shock brigades of the world revolutionary movement."

From those days we pledged that the Party of Labour of Albania would hold high the title of "shock brigade" and that it would guard the teachings and instructions of Stalin as the apple of its eye, as an historic behest, and would carry them all out consistently. We repeated this solemn pledge in the !days of the great grief, when the immortal Stalin was taken from us, and we are proud that our Party, as the Stalin's shock brigade, has never gone back on its word, has never been and never will be guided by anything other than the teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin and the disciple and consistent continuer of their work, our beloved friend, the glorious leader, Joseph Vissarionovich Stalin.



**Enver Hoxha participating at the celebration of
centenary of comrade J. V. STALIN**

On the First May 1979, the international fighting day of the proletariat, comrade Enver Hoxha stood in the bleachers and was welcomed by the masses with loud enthusiasm: "Long live comrade Enver Hoxha ! Long live Marxism-Leninism ! Long live the Party !" The slogans were mainly related to the 35th Anniversary of the liberation. Other banners drew attention to the new book "Imperialism and Revolution". Suddenly a group of workers stopped marching in front of the bleachers and shouted: "Down with the Russian and Chinese social-imperialism !" Some diplomats of the Warsaw Treaty and representatives of the Chinese government left protesting the bleachers, accompanied by the applause of the masses.



Enver Hoxha greeting the 5th Congress of the Democratic Front

June 1979

June 4 - 6, 1979, the 5th Congress of the Democratic Front of Albania met, and comrade Enver Hoxha opened the Congress as the Chairman of the General Council of the Democratic Front of Albania. Comrade Enver Hoxha delivered the opening speech and the closing speech. In the center of the meeting was the celebration of the 35th anniversary of the liberation day of Albania. The day before, his article, "THE DEMOCRATIC FRONT LED BY THE PARTY IS THE GREAT ORGANIZATION WHICH UNITES, ORGANIZES AND EDUCATES THE PEOPLE POLITICALLY", was published in the newspaper «Bashkimi», on June 3, 1979:

The voice and the work of the great men of Albania, their powerful call has been: Albanians unite! While the screams of our enemies have been: Albanians divide! The great imperialist powers have always spoken in this language, because in this way they would be able to dominate and oppress us, would be able to enslave our nation in their own interests. The foreigners and evil people within the country who sowed disruption, claimed that a small country and a small people like ours could not exist without the aid of a great power. But the good people, who fought with the sword, the rifle, and the pen, thought otherwise. And they were quite correct.

With the Marxist-Leninist ideology which inspired it and with the militant progressive spirit of its own people that characterized it, the Party hurled itself into the fire for the most sacred cause, to carry out the revolution in order to achieve the objectives of our grand-parents and parents who had fought to see Albania free, independent and democratic. At this period the situation had altered. By now the October Socialist Revolution had triumphed in the Soviet Union. The great example of the Soviet Union illuminated the road for the Albanian communists, who showed our people, not just in words but also in deeds, with fighting and bloodshed, the only road to salvation: the road of unity and resolute struggle against foreign occupiers, who had trampled on our country, as well as against the internal enemies, who collaborated with the foreigners.

The Comintern, the Communist Third International, which Lenin and Stalin led, advised the Albanian communists to find the right road of the struggle, that road which the Marxist-Leninist ideology showed them. It taught them to link themselves with the working class, to go among the masses of the working people, to gain strength from them, like Antaeus, and in the appropriate concrete conditions, to create their communist party. Precisely because we followed this road, we Albanian communists triumphed.

The unity of our people was tempered in stern struggle with the foreign and internal enemies, with the remnants of them, who tried to raise and re-establish capitalism. With the end of the war, those imperialist powers which, up till yesterday, were allies in the fight against fascism, turned into dangerous enemies who worked to overthrow our People's State Power. However, they were quite unable to conquer the Albanian people, the Albanian working class, and its glorious Party of Labour.

The construction of socialism and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat became a great reality in Albania. The construction of the foundations of socialism in accordance with the teachings of Lenin and Stalin commenced. The teachings of these two leaders of the world proletariat assisted us in our road. As long as he was alive, the great Stalin gave us every possible assistance. The Khrushchevite revisionist traitors and all the traitors of Marxism-Leninism throughout the world threw mud at him, but they cannot dim the glory of his name. Joseph Stalin, the centenary of whose birth we shall celebrate this year, was a great Marxist-Leninist, a loyal pupil of Marx, Engels and Lenin, was the teacher who enlightened the Albanian communists and people and gave them strength, and contributed a great deal to ensure that the new Albania would advance fearlessly and proud and overcome every enemy that it would come up against.

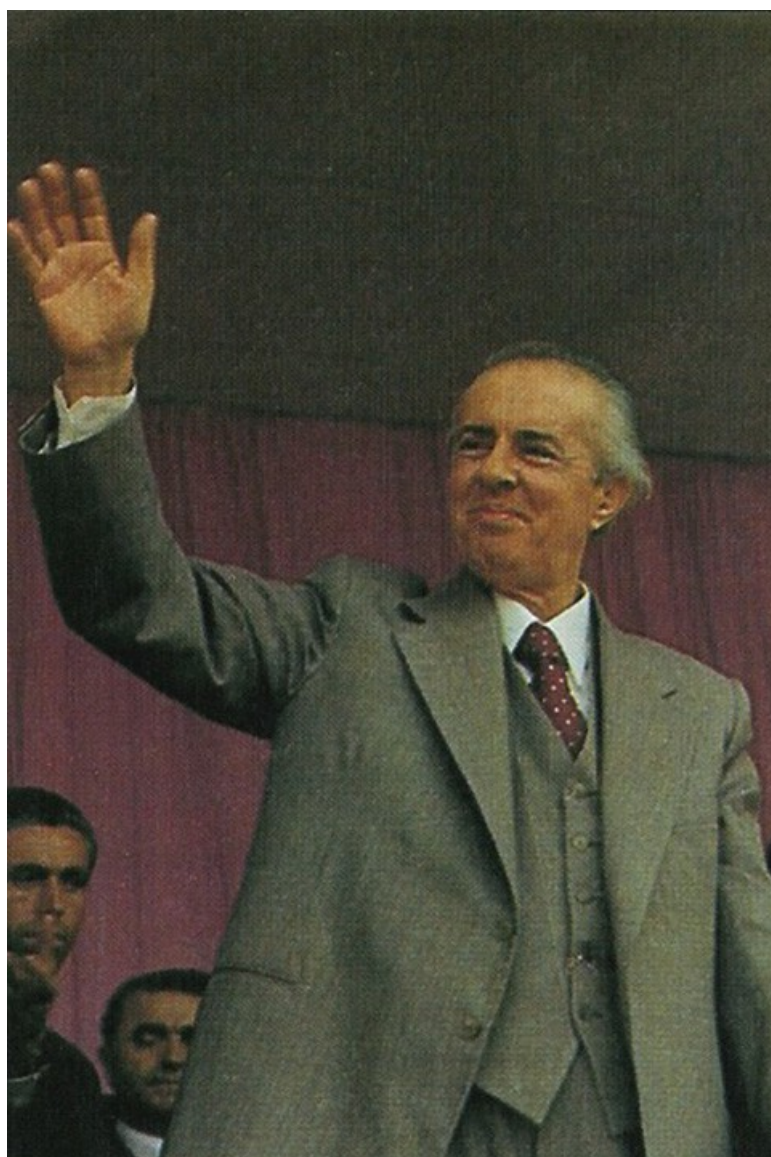
External enemies and internal enemies, open enemies and disguised enemies, were to emerge continually to hinder our course. The Party knew how to uncover them one after the other, to expose their plots against socialism and the freedom of the Homeland, and render them powerless, because it was a party of the working class, a party which loyally followed Marxism-Leninism, a party which relied on the broad masses of the people. There were and still are people who allege that Albania existed thanks to the aid of the Soviet Union and other former socialist countries, thanks to the aid of the Titoites, when it is known that the latter not only did not assist us, but on the contrary, robbed us of everything they could. It is alleged also that Albania existed thanks to the aid of the Chinese! This is another lie. We accepted the credits which they accorded us, thinking that we had to do with Marxist-Leninists, although these credits represented no more than a very small percentage of the investments which our people have made.

With the credits they provided, the pseudo-socialist states, which have been exposed one after the other, and in this the Party of Labour of Albania has played an important role, had imperialist aims. But these sinister aims were uncovered by the Party of Labour which put a stop to their game and left them smarting. We have no debts to anyone, we have repaid the credits we received, and only a few things still remain to be sent back to them, therefore let them shut their mouths. Their «aid» had evil aims. Through this «aid» they wanted to make Albania their tool, to make it a neo-colony. But they did not succeed with us. The Party of Labour of Albania has never betrayed its own people, its ideology, Marxism-Leninism, and that is why it has triumphed.

All the honest and progressive people throughout the world see in Albania a living example in which a small people, completely surrounded by capitalism and the bourgeoisie, stand unwavering, invincible and building socialism with their own forces. At a time when the great world crisis has engulfed the capitalist, imperialist and social-imperialist countries, when the prices of all things necessary for the people are rising, when millions of workers are thrown out of their jobs, our country is successfully building socialism. Here a powerful industry, an advanced agriculture, and a profoundly humane and pure culture are flourishing and developing. Our culture not only serves the progress of the country but also makes its own contribution to the great treasury of world culture. The earthquake which struck a few weeks ago was the heaviest earthquake known to have struck our country. Whole villages were destroyed. We shall cope with this damage with our own forces. Within five months, all the devastated villages will be rebuilt more beautiful than what they were, they will be new socialist villages. In order to express their gratitude to the Party for its parental care, the peasants who suffered damage in the earthquake say: the Party was here besides us before our neighbours could get here. All Albania to a man rose to its feet to overcome the difficulties which were created. This is what always occurs amongst us when the need arises. One for all, and all for one. Thousands of people have gone, and tens of thousands of others have expressed the desire to go to work to liquidate the grave consequences which the earthquake caused our brothers and sisters in the damaged zones. On our roads and railways one sees endless lines of trucks and trains transporting building materials. Right from the first day, the people who suffered this calamity, especially in the North: in Shkodra, Lezha, Mat, Mirdita, Kruja, Dibra, Puka and Tropoja, were never short of anything. People were housed in tents with lightening speed and they never found themselves hard pressed even for sugar or coffee, let alone for bread, meat and vegetables, of which they had more ample supplies than before.

The Party teaches the communists that they must stand, as always, in the forefront of every work and every effort, and display vigour and self-sacrifice in the performance of tasks. Being members of the Democratic Front of Albania, they must be among the most outstanding militants, display political maturity and modesty in their attitudes, love the people and be closely linked with them, preserve the unity of the Party with the people, strengthen the organization of the Front, and all the other organizations of the masses, which are levers of the Party and enliven and give vitality and force to its great activity and thought. The more the directives and the problems which the Party puts forward are discussed in the Front, the more criticisms are made of impermissible laxity, harmful habits which exist or might emerge, alien manifestations, liberalism and bureaucracy, the stronger and more stable socialism will be in Albania, and the stronger our Homeland will be.

A manifestation of the steel-like unity of party-state-masses was the struggle against the catastrophic earthquake on the 15th of April, 1979. In the districts of Shkodra, Lezha, Mirdita, Dibra, Kruja, Mati, Puka and Tropoja 35 people died, 382 were injured, 17 122 houses in 551 villages and the cities Shkroda, Lezha and Rreshen were damaged or destroyed. 100 000 people were left homeless. Comrade Enver Hoxha played a leading role in helping the sorrow-stricken people. By his directive all necessary and urgent measures were made. Following the call of comrade Enver Hoxha the entire Albania raised to remove the impacts of the earthquake. A remarkable socialist solidarity was organized and all the forces of the people, the sdtate and the party mobilized. Within a record time of 5 month the task was fulfilled: There were repaired 14 522 dwellings and other buildings. Newly built were 2441 new houses and 165 apartments as well as various economic and social buildings, such as schools, kindergartens, nurseries, cultural centers, health institutions. 47 km electrical wiring were repaired, and 44 km water pipes were laid in the new villages and residential areas. Upon completion of this large and complex work, all affected families could move into the new or repaired homes. The state took over all costs. The party and the state delivered to all farmers the new housing developments as a personal gift. They have to pay no rent.



Enver Hoxha - greeting the people of Shkodra

after the earthquake in 1979

Enver Hoxha went personally amongst the people of Lezha and Shkodra in order to be beside them just as he had always been beside them in the joy and sorrows of every village and town and every Albanian home. On an opening ceremony in the new residential area comrade Enver Hoxha delivered a speech and said:

Today's completion of construction is an indescribable joy for all the people, for the party and for me. In no other country in the world, the consequences of an earthquake disaster have been eliminated as quickly as in socialist Albania. We are a small country and a small people. But the Albanian people is characterized by a large, unprecedented strength and fortitude when it comes to defend his country and his life. Our people have never lost courage.

In countries where the bourgeoisie rules, one hardly cares for the earthquake-stricken people. The funds seep into corrupt hands and not really reach the victims. In contrast to all other countries, Albania has helped on its own power. The only state of the proletarians conceded neither rent nor taxes. That, brothers and sisters, comrades and friends, is socialism, that is, the dictatorship of the proletariat, that is victory of the socialist revolution on the inner and outer capitalist enemies. This is the line of our Party, which expresses the will and interests of the people and the socialist fatherland. For many, many years, the bourgeoisie and the revisionists the world are trying to hoodwink by telling the opposite of what is happening in Albania. They slander all they have done the Albanian people and the PAA under its own power. The fascists have devastated our country in WWII and stolen our riches. They did not help us today in the reconstruction and paid for their posthumous damage reparation. Neither prayers of the Pope, nor the construction of spiers and minarets has helped us. Only the work of the freed from capitalist slavery people can perform miracles. Only the struggle against reaction, against capitalism, against revisionism save humanity.

In countries where the capitalist rule, are everywhere strikes, anarchy, inflation, crime, demonstrations, and clashes with those who suck the blood of the people. In our socialist country, it looks totally different. There is no need and no misery. There is no unemployment, no taxes, no price increases, no inflation. Education and health care are free. The apartment rents are incredibly low for us. These facts speak for themselves. This beautiful country we have built ourselves and not the Titoists, Soviet revisionists or Chinese revisionists. The whole capitalist-revisionist world has a thousand times trying to defame us and to harm and enslave us. What we have built up over the earthquake zones again, no enemy of the world can deny.

We kindle in our hearts the young generation by the example of our immortal in the centuries people the purest feelings of freedom, independence, love of the Party of Labour of Albania, to the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat. We make our children flaming internationalists, if necessary, throw themselves into the fire in order to always defend the borders of the fatherland, the proletarian revolution and the anti-imperialist national liberation struggles. Long live the party! Long live the people!

On July 5, 1979, comrade Enver Hoxha took the initiative in the Polit Bureau of the PLA concerning further minimization of the differences between city and countryside. Particularly, the situation of women was improved and also new kinder gardens were established on the countryside. On a meeting of the Polit Bureau which took place on the 13th of October 1979, comrade Enver Hoxha initiated measures for the improvement of the supply and export of energy resources (oil, gas and coal). On 29th of October, 1979 comrade Enver Hoxha made important proposals for the improvement of the work of the Trade Unions. Decisions were made by the secretariat of the CC of the PLA.

In August 1979, the article of comrade Enver Hoxha was published:

"The Marxist – Leninist Movement and the World Crisis of Capitalism"

In my opinion, we Marxist-Leninists, the working class, the revolutionaries and ordinary progressive people in the world must take greater efforts to increase the superiority of the forces of the revolution. Why? Because capitalism, which is experiencing great disturbances at present possesses powerful means and has developed diverse modes of government, action, sabotage and disruption which hinder the advance of the revolution.

Turn the situation in favour of the revolution ... this requires the creation of new Marxist-Leninist parties and the strengthening of the existing ones, of course, adhering firmly to the teachings of Marx and Lenin. They alone are able to make detailed analyses of the situation in the country, the ratio of classes, the strength of the working class, its strong and weak points, as well as the forms and methods which the bourgeoisie employs to subjugate the workers and the people.

Let us not forget that while capitalism and the various parties in its service are in deep crisis, they are struggling to find forms, ways and expedients to befuddle and confuse the Marxist-Leninists who stand at the head of the working class, so that they will not manage to make the class conscious of the need to take action and capitalism and its parties will be able to split it while keeping it under their rule. The clear Marxist-Leninist ideas absolutely must be combined with actions, we cannot proceed from the idea that actions should be carried out only when the forces of the party are great, or capable of confronting the military machine of imperialism. But this should not be taken to mean that now the communists must hurl themselves into adventurous actions. Avoiding adventurism should not prevent us communists from acting in a Marxist-Leninist way.

In thoughts and in actions, the place of the Marxist-Leninist parties is always in the vanguard. And if thoughts are to be combined with actions, we must not go into battle alone, but at the head of the working class and its allies. In order to go into battle together with them it is necessary to penetrate into the ranks and become one with them.

The working class, with its Marxist-Leninist party at the head, must be capable of understanding when the suitable national moment exists to organize and proceed towards the uprising. In this direction it is precisely the Marxist-Leninists who must be the most capable, the most wide-awake, the best organizers in order to become the subjective factor of the leadership of the revolution. In no way should we proceed from the idea that the conditions are not yet ripe for the revolution, or that the revolution cannot break out in the developed capitalist countries, therefore, we have to wait for it to develop in those states or continents in which the oppression, the forms and methods of exploitation are allegedly different from those in the metropolises. The working class and the Marxist-Leninist parties of the metropolises ought to give the peoples of various countries great aid, should assist their revolutionary movements. The greatest support and aid is to make life possible for monopoly capitalism and the foreign capital which collaborates with the local capital for the oppression of the peoples in the colonial and neo-colonial countries.

Therefore, the Marxist-Leninist parties in the capitalist countries will have to work and struggle unrelentingly in order to weaken international monopoly capital, the multinational companies which oppress and exploit the peoples, and make life difficult for them so that the people attack wherever the links in the capitalist chain are weakest, that is they must rise in insurrection to seize power and carry out democratic reforms and then to establish the dictatorship of the proletariat, a socialist structure and superstructure.

In various undeveloped capitalist countries today the people are rising in insurrection and revolution. But although the peoples in those countries are rising, fighting, and making sacrifices, the elements of the bourgeoisie, united with the big capital, are still doing everything they can through numerous tricks and intrigues to quell the insurrection, or turn it into a movement in their favour, and in that case, such a movement serves merely to eliminate this or that clique from the political scene in order to bring to power another more moderate but likewise capitalist clique which operates in agreement with big monopoly capital. This happens, of course, because of the political unclarity and the lack of organization of the working class.

It is a fact that time after time, when the crisis reaches its climax, partial wars, and perhaps even world war, could break out. Only the revolution on the Marxist-Leninist road can prevent, avert, or defeat world war. Otherwise, the major contradictions that exist between the superpowers, between multinational companies may cause it.

Therefore, since we understand this important problem in this way, we must make every effort to defeat the plans and actions which the bourgeoisie and its lackeys are making in preparation for a bloody, general war. This can be an insurrection which is led only by the working class which has the Marxist-Leninist doctrine as its guide.

Terrorism is the preliminary preparation for fascist military coups of the bourgeoisie, which, at moments of exacerbation of the class-struggle, when it sees that it cannot resist the strength and attack of the people goes on the offensive, launches a coup d'état and the fascist military junta takes power. Hence, terrorism is the preliminary preparation for fascism to come to power.

The anti-Marxist theoreticians condemn terrorism in the forms in which it manifests itself today, but they make no distinction between acts of terrorism and the militant actions towards revolution which the working class, led by a Marxist-Leninist party, has to carry out. Being against the revolution, they are against any action, and the state power of the bourgeoisie and its social-democratic and revisionist defenders call any such action, any attempt in this direction, and any military organization of the working class, led by the Marxist-Leninist party, a terrorist act. Indeed, the revisionists vote in favour of strengthening the police and security organs in order to combat terrorism and anarchism. This means allowing the bourgeoisie a free hand to attack any form of organization and struggle of the working class and its vanguard to liberate itself from the yoke of capitalism. If we do not understand this situation correctly, if we equate revolutionary action with terrorism and anarchism, then it will be impossible for the revolution, to advance and the working class will remain for ever at the mercy of capital, under the oppression of laws of the bourgeoisie, and, as a consequence, will tone down all its efforts to liberate itself from bondage.

The new Marxist-Leninist parties cannot content themselves merely with the publication of a newspaper or magazine, which, naturally, have very limited circulation. These means of propaganda have their own importance, but frequently they fail to produce the desired effect among the masses, let alone penetrate and organize the work within big groupings of the masses. Both the Marxist-Leninists norms which organize, temper and make the party coherent and militant, and its penetration, organization and struggle inside the unions or other groupings of the working class, are matters of great importance for the revolution. The Marxist-Leninist parties, especially in Europe, must not remain onlookers behind the barricade on which the working class is fighting. Of course, legal work must be carried out, but parallel with this work the party must create its clandestine force which will direct the legal work.

It is absolutely essential that the exposures of revisionism and its parties, with their forms, methods and policies should be done, although the exposure through newspaper articles and speeches, but should be accompanied with actions so that the proletariat will clearly see the distinction between its Marxist-Leninist party and the revisionist and social-democratic parties, not just because their political and ideological objectives differ, but especially because the party of the proletariat struggles to put its objectives into practice and thus, it will strengthen its ranks with such elements by admitting them as party members. Only through such work can the Marxist-Leninist parties in the capitalist countries be sure that their ranks will be increased with convinced and disciplined people, loyal to Marxism-Leninism, prepared for the revolution through violence and not through reforms. It is our duty to teach the members of the party and the elements of the working class they mobilize around themselves to make small sacrifices, while preparing themselves for greater sacrifices, up to giving their lives on the fronts of struggle against the bourgeoisie which are being waged and will be waged in the future. In this sense, the objective of the Marxist-Leninist parties which militate in the capitalist countries is to be parties of the barricades, parties of the capture of factories, of clashes with the forces of the order, and not parties which submit to the laws, regulations and formulas that reaction has created. The important moments through which the capitalist world is passing at present, the moments of the great crisis, are objectively very suitable for launching attacks on capital at its weak points. It is up to us Marxist-Leninists to understand these weaknesses thoroughly so that the struggle and the resistance are developed both in the developed capitalist countries and in the backward countries. The responsibility devolves on the Marxist-Leninist parties of the developed countries to prove themselves up to their tasks and set the example for the Marxist-Leninist parties or the revolutionary elements of the backward countries.

At present we can say that the working masses and progressive elements in the economically backward countries, who suffer the oppression of capital, are more in the forefront, more active, more militant than those in the developed capitalist countries and although there are no Marxist-Leninist parties there, they have proved their superiority by carrying out militant activities against the internal oppression and external interference. The conclusion emerges that the metropolises continue to oppress the undeveloped, neo-colonial countries and, logically, that the Marxist-Leninist parties in some oppressor countries are not reacting with the revolutionary force required to prevent this oppression. It can be seen that the necessary internationalist solidarity with the progressive peoples of continents which are in revolt against the double yoke of foreign and local capital does not exist in these countries. This is a major problem of capital importance, which must concern all Marxist-Leninists, and in the first place, the Marxist-Leninist parties in the countries ruled by capital. Wherever the capitalist bourgeoisie operates, it is striving with all its might to cope with the terrible economic crisis which has gripped it, and which, far from diminishing is becoming deeper, by shifting its consequences on to the shoulders of the masses. The energy-crisis, the financial crisis, the mounting prices, inflation, unemployment and terrorism which day by day is assuming alarming proportions, are arousing the distrust of the broad masses of the people towards the regimes ruling them, but at the same time, they frighten the middle strata of the people, obscure their view of the future, of the ways and means to escape from the crisis, that is, from the regime which has given birth to all these evils. Precisely here and in opposition to this situation, the burden falls on us Marxist-Leninists and our parties to fight the opposing current, to find the ways, means and forms to mobilize the masses. If the working masses, we Marxist-Leninist parties and the progressive peoples fail to understand that the fascist dictatorship comes as a result of the difficult situation which the power of the capital is experiencing and do not fight it, then,, sooner or later fascism will be established, because the crisis will continue, since capitalism will strive to protect its income at the expense of the working masses who will become more and more impoverished. Being unarmed, because they do not understand why such a thing is occurring and do not fight against it and the other actions of the capital, these masses will accept the bondage of a fascist circle, thinking that it will be a way out of the crisis. In fact it is not a way out for the working class and the working people, because fascism represents the most ferocious dictatorship of capital, which will oppress the masses of the peoples even more than it is doing today. It is the last resort of exploiting capital. Our Marxist-Leninist theory teaches us: Every revolutionary activity must be guided by the Marxist-Leninist revolutionary theory which the Marxist-Leninist party masters, defends and faithfully applies. The objective of every genuine revolutionary movement must be to establish the hegemony of the working class.

The Marxist-Leninists act in two parallel directions: both against the regime in power, against the bourgeois parties, whether social-democratic, socialist or revisionist, and at the same time, also, against terrorism. The enemies must be attacked on all fronts in unity with the masses, otherwise, success cannot be achieved. To do this requires strong organization, courage and many sacrifices from our Marxist-Leninist parties.

The tasks which emerge for us Marxist-Leninists in these situations are certainly very great and very difficult, because our enemies are numerous, highly organized and very powerful. These tasks become still greater and more difficult for the Marxist-Leninist parties which militate in the capitalist countries. But profound and correct understanding of Marxism-Leninism, that unerring guide which leads and directs us in every step of our life and ideological line, as well as in the organizational field, the effective co-ordination of illegal with legal activity, the selection of reliable allies and alliances, etc. will make our struggle and the overcoming of difficulties easier and will lead us to victory over the bourgeois-revisionist enemies.

On the 8th of September 1979, comrade Enver Hoxha had a talk with Joao Amazonas from Brazil (who became a renegade):

**THE EXPERIENCE OF MARXIST-
LENINIST PARTIES SHOULD BE STUDIED
AND UTILIZED TO STRENGTHEN OUR
COMMON STRUGGLE**



Hysni Kapo

1915 - 1979

On September 23, 1979, the closest comrade and friend of Enver Hoxha died - comrade Hysni Kapo. He was one of the best leaders of the Party, and we all know that he would never become a renegade like Ramiz Alia. We are totally convinced that comrade Hysni Kapo would be the best choice for the defense and leadership of the socialist Albania against capitalist-revisionist encirclement after the death of comrade Enver Hoxha. Unfortunately, Hysni Kapo had died before comrade Enver Hoxha died. Comrade Hysni Kapo, this great proletarian internationalist, was a grave loss for the Albanian people and for the whole revolutionary world proletariat, and is as irreplaceable as comrade Enver Hoxha himself. Here we publish one letter of comrade Enver Hoxha which was sent to Hysni Kapo on the 30th of July 1978:

Letter to Comrade Hysni Kapo



Hysni Kapo and Enver Hoxha in 1975

Qemal Stafa Stadium



On November 29, 1979, comrade Enver Hoxha participated in the celebrations on occasion of the 35th anniversary of the liberation of the homeland and the victory of the people's revolution.

Also delegations of the Marxist-Leninist brother parties, delegations of foreign revolutionary Trade Unionists, delegations of foreign Women's and Youth's organizations, and delegations from Kosova were present.



Enver Hoxha - 1979

From 22nd of November to 23rd of November 1979 - in the frame of the 35th anniversary - a scientific meeting took place on the issue: Problems of socialist construction in Albania" at the university of Tirana and in the Party School "Lenin". Also comrade Enver Hoxha participated in the scientific conference. The delegations of the brother parties were also invited and active participants.

In November 1979 comrade Enver Hoxha sent a greeting message in the name of the CC of the PLA on occasion of the 3rd Congress of the CP of Spain / Marxist-Leninists and also to the Communist Party of Japan (Left) on occasion of the celebrations of the 10th founding-day. On November 27, 1979, he also sent a telegram to the CC of the CP Brazil on occasion of the early death of comrade Diogenes Arruda who had fought for nearly 50 years as a resolute, brave and honest fighter for the ideals of the revolution and for Marxism-Leninism.

On the 21st of December 1979, Enver Hoxha wrote a letter concerning measures of punishments for communists who have made errors. In this letter comrade Enver Hoxha pointed to raising vigilance which must not mixed up with sectarianism and formalism. For improving the compliance of the norms and rules of the party he made educational proposals for thorough analyses of erratic behavior, its earnest discussion in the base units of the party and its corrections with the help of the collective.



comrade Ernst Aust with comrade Enver Hoxha

On November 30, 1979, comrade Enver Hoxha met comrade Ernst Aust - the founder and leader of the Communist Party of Germany / Marxist-Leninists [founded in 1968 - now German Section of the Comintern (SH)]:

**"ONLY UNDER THE LEADERSHIP OF A
GENUINE MARXIST-LENINIST PARTY
CAN THE OBJECTIVES BE ACHIEVED"**

You have been here at other times, too, and know our country and our Party, and know the feelings which we nurture for you. At this meeting I would like to discuss a number of problems which we think are of interest both for you and for us. The stronger the Marxist-Leninists are, the more they are monolithic, with extensive activity and always with a firm and clear line, the more the day-to-day struggle of the proletariat here in Europe will assume a revolutionary political colour and essence. The strikes, demonstrations and demands of the European proletarians, which are taking place at the moments of the great crisis through which imperialism and world capitalism are passing, will more and more assume a political character.

The conditions demand that we should work inside the existing unions, but should also work to establish our own unions, which we must defend and use as a political weapon against capital and the union bosses to defend those economic rights which the working class has won through struggle, but we must also struggle for the true rights of the workers, that is, for their political rights.

I want to stress that for us Marxist-Leninists the revolution has begun, it is a process in development, therefore we must carry it through to the end, The fundamental issue of this revolution is the seizure of state power by the proletariat by force, by violence, because the capitalist bourgeoisie which holds state power does not relinquish it willingly or through reforms.

World capitalism, social-democracy and modern revisionism have always fought, distorted and misrepresented proletarian internationalism, the collaboration of communists, and the unity of thought and action of the communist and workers' parties. On us, the Marxist-Leninist parties, devolves the urgent task of putting all these things on the right road. First of all, we need meetings to exchange experience, to co-ordinate the cardinal actions for a given situation, we need meetings of a militant character in which unity prevails and not meetings in order to quarrel and split. In our opinion, these meetings, whether bilateral, trilateral, multilateral, or general, are determined by the objective needs of the struggle, by the need to exchange experience and for special consultations about related problems which all of us face. Our Party clearly defined this view at its 7th Congress.

Now I come to another question. If we look at the present state of the communist parties (Marxist-Leninist) of Europe, along with the good results achieved in strengthening them, it seems to us that since some of them are new, they are still not properly consolidated politically, ideologically and organizationally. Our common problems here, in old Europe, are capital ones, but they are problems not only of Europe, but of the whole world, of all peoples, because no part of the globe, no class, no party, whatever its type and the ideology on which it is based, can isolate itself from the events which are taking place all round the globe or fail to take part in this complicated struggle. The multinational companies dominate their political and economic life. The superstructure of these states responds to this structure. In all the capitalist countries of Europe disguised fascism has its own forms and forces of organization, social-democracy has its numerous parties and modern revisionism also has its parties. The enemies strive to keep the European proletariat split and disorganized and all we Marxist-Leninists can see this. This is the main aim of all the parties of capital, social-democracy and modern revisionism. Only the doctrine of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin assures the proletariat of unity of its ranks and its allies. That is why the bourgeoisie, capitalism, revisionism and socialdemocracy pervert, distort, fight and deny Marxism-Leninism.

Unity, this is the key problem of our Marxist-Leninist parties, the motto of which has always been and still is: «Workers of all countries unite!» This is achieved when attention is paid also to the slogan: «Workers of one country unite!»

We Marxist-Leninists are against terrorism and against anarchism, both in theory and practice. However, we are preparing the revolution, hence we are bound to come to blows with the army of the bourgeoisie. For this reason the bourgeoisie is already preparing the terrain and indoctrinating the masses psychologically to create the impression amongst them that we, the communists and proletarians who rise in insurrection against the system of oppression and exploitation, are allegedly terrorists, anarchists, murderers and bank robbers and label us with other epithets which are perfectly appropriate for terrorist and anarchist gangs, but in no way appropriate for communists. It is the capitalist system which creates these gangs, which causes the degeneration of their members and encourages them to operate under pseudo-revolutionary, pseudo-proletarian and pseudo-communist labels. This is the army of fascism with which the proletariat has clashed and will always clash whenever it rises in revolutionary struggle. Such gangs are the auxiliary aids of the army, the police and all the organs of coercion of the bourgeoisie.

Therefore, it is a primary task of our communist parties (Marxist-Leninist) to educate and train the proletariat and the masses day by day by engaging them in minor actions and then in bigger actions against the bourgeoisie and the various forms of oppression which it employs, especially against the army and the other means of oppression of the capitalist order.

The essence of our struggle is to make the soldier, the son of the people, a political person so that he will not be an automaton, but will consciously sabotage the orders, discipline, and armaments of the army, erode the power of the reactionary officer caste, refuse to open fire on the people and, at the culminating moment, turn his weapons against the system, against his superiors, and join the insurgents.

We must sabotage the imperialist war. This is done by preparing the masses and co-ordinating the struggle against the capitalist structure and superstructure with the struggle to sabotage the army of the bourgeoisie. The Marxist-Leninist party turns imperialist war into civil war. This will be achieved only when we prepare the soldier for such an action, when he understands this action and is conscious of its importance, when he sabotages the munition plants and depots and the infra-structure of the bourgeois army and when, at the same time, the Marxist-Leninist party through struggle and in the course of fighting has organized the army of the armed people and, at the head of the proletariat, launches direct attacks to overthrow the power of the bourgeoisie and place power in the hands of the people, which is the main objective of the revolution.

It is up to the working class in alliance with the peasantry and other exploited strata, under the leadership of its own Marxist-Leninist communist party, to carry out the revolution and take power into its own hands. Only a genuine Marxist-Leninist party is able to study and understand these great and important problems correctly, to organize the struggle, the revolution, and achieve the objectives which history has allocated to the proletariat and to the party as the leading and guiding force of the proletariat. We think that only a party of the Lenin-Stalin type can lead the proletarian revolution to its successful conclusion and build the new society, socialism and communism.

The proletarian revolution demands iron proletarian discipline. Therefore, the vanguard party of the working class is characterized by unity of revolutionary Marxist-Leninist thought and action. There must be only one line and not two in a Marxist-Leninist party. In the party there is genuine democracy within the principles and norms established, there is open and constructive discussion in which the opinions which may exist about various problems are thrashed out, there is sound Marxist-Leninist comradeship and sincere communist love for one another. Bureaucracy, liberalism and sectarianism are combated, always within these norms, and the cult of individuals, favouritism and other evils and all sorts of other hangovers inherited from the old bourgeois-capitalist society are combated.

The period through which we are passing is glorious and revolutionary, but also difficult for our parties. Our struggle must be waged with closed ranks so that we are not infiltrated by the enemy, either through provocateurs or agents, or ideologically, in order to split us. «Mao Zedong thought» is one of these weapons which is being employed at present for this purpose.

We must not understand the problem of illegal work in a sectarian way and shut ourselves away in isolation, neglecting all the forms of the struggle which «legality» permits, although we must not forget that this legality is ephemeral. The legal work of the party is known to the enemy; whereas its illegal work, which is combined with and guides the legal work, must not be known to the enemy. The legal struggle must, without fail, achieve certain limits, certain results which serve the revolution, create the objective factors for it, prepare the wide-scale mass attacks against the oppressive capitalist system and its state.

We must fight together, shoulder to shoulder, with closed ranks and assist each other as much as we can. We, as Marxist-Leninists in power, will help you in your revolutionary struggle. On the other hand, you help socialist Albania where the Party of Labour is in power, where the dictatorship of the proletariat has been established and the new socialist society is being built successfully, according to the teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin.

We emphasize the struggle against the various kinds of modern revisionism, because this is the most recent and least unmasked variant of social-democracy in the period of imperialism, of capitalism in decay, the period of anti-imperialist revolutions and proletarian revolutions.

In essence, the various kinds of modern revisionism have the same ideological views and the same objectives:

— The rejection of the Marxist-Leninist theory as a theory allegedly unsuitable for our times;

— The rejection of the revolution and the seizure of power through violence;

— The integration of capitalism into «socialism» by means of reforms in pluralism and in collaboration, in harmony and coexistence of classes and their ideologies;

— The preservation of the existing capitalist state structures as well as of religious beliefs, while accepting only some minor formal change.

Although Togliatti's polycentrism has been achieved in general, there will be further splits and fragmentation.

Today we see a number of variants of modern revisionism:

1. Soviet modern revisionism which «dominates» in a series of revisionist parties within its sphere of influence which, in general, are the former communist parties. This revisionist grouping disguises itself with Leninism, but fights it both as a theory and as a revolutionary practice. The parties of this revisionist grouping operating in the capitalist countries are in opposition, but they are also making efforts to participate in the capitalist governments of their own countries. Their demagogy is very dangerous.

2. «Eurocommunism», the banner of which is carried by the Spanish, French and Italian revisionist parties as well as others which have openly rejected the Marxist-Leninist theory and the idea of the revolution, defend parliamentarianism, pluralism, reformism in theory and in structure, reject the class struggle, preach class peace, struggle for participation in the capitalist governments and legal collaboration with capitalism, while integrating themselves into its structure and superstructure.

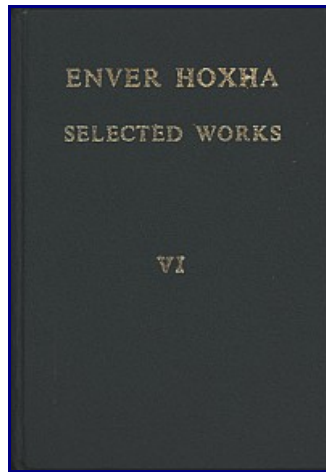
3. Chinese revisionism with «Mao Zedong thought» as a pseudo-Marxist, eclectic, Bukharinite, revisionist, opportunist theory with tendencies for world hegemony both in ideology and policy. Although not well crystallized, «Mao Zedong thought» is a theory of the developing Chinese bourgeoisie, which has aggressive, war-mongering, socialimperialist tendencies. This pseudo-Marxist theory rejects Marxism-Leninism while disguising itself as a theory of the revolution; likewise, it tries to disguise the struggle which Chinese revisionism is waging for world hegemony and neo-colonialism, rejects the class struggle, has a pronounced Asiatic but also world character and comes out openly against proletarian internationalism.

4. Titoism, a revisionist current which operates with out disguise against Marxism-Leninism, places itself openly in the service of world capitalism, is the builder of an anarcho-syndicalist pseudo-socialist structure with all the anti-socialist and anti-Marxist-Leninist features. Titoism is a friend and supporter of the «Eurocommunists» and is trying to become their leader, but without success. This current is also making efforts to influence China, to set it more firmly on the capitalist course, and this influence has begun to have effect in several directions, although China aims to create and is creating its capitalist system in its own way.

5. Various eclectic social-religious, social-bourgeois, anti-Marxist currents which pop up continually like toadstools after the rain.

Our parties must bear in mind that these revisionist variants, which are all on the attack against socialism and the revolution, also have their theories with which they want to manipulate the masses within the country and outside it, on the international plane. The theories of «three worlds», «the non aligned», «the developing world», or theories like that which claims that «socialism is being built everywhere» are opium for the peoples, are antipopular theories which are emerging as a reaction to the anti-imperialist situation and serve precisely to protect the capitalist system from the attacks of the masses, to hinder the anti-imperialist movement and struggle of the peoples.

In our fundamental fight, in our strategy and tactics, in our daily struggle and activity we must always take all these actions of our enemies into account and unmask them openly and without respite. It is for this reason that we must temper our parties every day, must arm them with our Marxist-Leninist theory and must safeguard and strengthen the Marxist-Leninist ideological unity of the party. In this way alone we can and will find our bearings correctly in our complicated, but glorious struggle, because this is the great struggle for the liberation of peoples from capitalist bondage, the struggle for the triumph of the proletarian revolution on all continents.



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1980

On the 14th and 15th of January 1980 the 7th Plenum of the CC of the PLA met, led by comrade Enver Hoxha. A report was presented on the issue: "Stages of the socialist development of the country and the current perspectives of the further improvement of the administration of the organization of the scientific work of the party." After discussion the report was adopted unanimously.

35 Years of people's power - these are 35 years of struggle, work and gigantic efforts of the Albanian people for the construction and consolidation of the socialist order. In these 35 years the dream of socialism was turned into reality. The socialist revolution in Albania did not follow a "zigzag course" or was thrown back. The socialist revolution in Albania moved forward always successfully and uninterruptedly. This is a special feature of the Albanian socialist revolution. Comrade Enver Hoxha guided it by implementing the principles of Marxism-Leninism excellently. He was the leader of the party by whom socialism in Albania became invincible and unscalable. Comrade Enver Hoxha showed the world both in theory and practice: If the revolutionary forces base themselves on the scientific theory, and if they correctly apply Marxism-Leninism to the particular conditions of their country, then they will find the correct way towards socialism. The theoretical thinking of comrade Enver Hoxha was a great contribution to the defense and further development of Marxism-Leninism on both the national and international scale. It was a strong weapon in the hands of the party and the masses to strive towards communism. It was an inexhaustable source of enthusiasm for the people and the whole revolutionary world. The successful experiences of 35 years of flourishing socialism were reflected in the great works of comrade Enver Hoxha. After the 7th Congress of the PLA the relations of production were attuned to the rapidly increasing productive forces accomplished by hard class struggle. Albania fully developed the socialist society without any credits from outside and in spite of the aggravating capitalist-revisionist encirclement. The socialist consciousness of the working class and the toilers reached a higher level. The further development of the economy, education and defense of the country required new progressive methods in science and technology. All the struggle and work of the PLA and the Albanian state were concentrated to develop a new higher standard of science. Comrade Enver Hoxha said that the consequences would be very dangerous for the socialist society if the laws of dialectical and historical materialism would be violated, if the Marxist-Leninist principles of political economy would be ignored, and if the laws of natural science would be neglected. Every smallest irregularity could become irreparable. Therefore comrade Enver Hoxha struggled against subjectivism and voluntarism especially within the leading organs of party and state. All these important questions were discussed under the leadership of comrade Enver Hoxha on the 7th and 8th Plenum of the CC of the PLA (January and June 1980).

On the 8th Plenum of the CC of the PLA comrade Enver Hoxha stated:

The progress of the country is inseparably linked with the development of science and technology. The science and technology have made progress and are developed directly in the service of the needs of production and social life , as this in turn constantly promoted the development of science and technology. Our country is the only country that successfully builds the truly socialist society, under specific historical conditions, encircled by the capitalist-revisionist world and without receiving financial aid or loans from abroad. This is not the case in the other states, not only in the small, but also the big ones - capitalist and revisionist as they are - where the science and the technology is used to exploit the broad working masses and suppress them to achieve their imperialist robbery targets.

In our country we prepare the great tasks of the 7th Five year plan. We work it out and will fully perform it by our own forces. Exactly these conditions are the ones that cause the Politburo to discuss the problems of science and scientific research.

The practice of the society is the source of development of the sciences and the criterion, which confirms the correctness of their theses. Their development is always based on dialectical and historical materialism. The development and multiplication of knowledge leads to specialization. And specialization requires the closest possible cooperation between the various scientific disciplines, different, manifold research and techniques. The science could not enlighten many similar things and phenomena in the harmonious explanation of the world , they would not uncover the connections between them. No science can therefore be studied, applied, and be further developed if their problems and methods are not seen in relation to those of other sciences.

Under the conditions of our country, it is necessary for us to insist on the application. Empiricism , academism in scientific activity must be combated. Scientists must proceed from the principle that the theoretical and experimental data can only be collected for science if they are logically linked. The socialist revolution gives science a strong influence. It is known that development of the science prospered in the French bourgeois- democratic revolution, but the great October Socialist Revolution under Lenin and Stalin's leadership gave science colossal stimulus. With the victory of the people's revolution and the building of socialism, science experienced a strong recovery with us. It is an undeniable fact that under the conditions of socialism, the Marxist- Leninist doctrine can be better defended, the bourgeois and revisionist views and practices can be debunked more thoroughly and the old glorious history of our people could be explored more profound. The sciences have played a major role in the communist education and the improvement of the relations of production and the social superstructure.

We have to make more effort and need more courage , more safety and methodical approach to the acquisition and application of science. Otherwise, the progress will be low and does not meet the large and growing needs of the country.

Lenin taught us: “We must learn ... and then see to it that learning shall not remain a dead letter, or a fashionable catch-phrase (and we should admit in all frankness that this happens very often with us), that learning shall really become part of our very being, that it shall actually and fully become a constituent element of our social life. In short, we must not make the demands that are made by bourgeois Western Europe, but demands that are fit and proper for a country which has set out to develop into a socialist country” (Lenin, Volume 33, page 489)

A revolution of the scientific work in the production, engineering, technology is demanded.

The Great October Socialist Revolution, which was led by Lenin and Stalin on the basis of the teachings of Marx and Engels, is known throughout the world. Therefore all speak of it - good or bad - however our revolution is relatively little known. The vast majority of people in the world know that there is a socialist Albania, which is unwavering and has its own line. They ask and wonder: *'How is that possible , how can Albania be so steadfast ?'* It is the task of our social sciences to explain the objective factors of our revolution and our socialist construction, to explain the role and tasks of the party and the implementation of true Marxist- Leninist theory to the concrete conditions of our country. This theory shows us and all the others the revolutionary way to go. We are absolute certain that they will smash imperialism and revisionism.

In today's era happens - independent of pressure, blackmail, fraud and corruption - that what our great Classics, Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin foresaw scientifically: the antagonistic contradiction between the productive forces and the capitalist relations of exploitive and oppressive production is nearing solution. The proletariat, which is suppressed and exploited, the starving millions in Asia, Africa and Latin America and other parts of the world will endure this until the cup is full and then they will rise to the revolution inevitably.

In the senior unit of each governmental institution - in the center as at the base - the political and economic leadership are on first place. Second, as support for the first, scientific organisms come in its service, and then follows the administration.

The work of this Plenum must necessarily follow serious and deep analysis ... which must be accompanied by concrete measures and actions in favor of building socialism, the defense of the country, to improve the living conditions of the people and steeling our new people.

On the basis of the principles of socialist production the main part of its growth must be achieved by the increase of the quality and productivity of labour and not by the quantitative growth of the amount of the working people. The social product must grow quicker than the product in itself. The productivity of labour must be quicker developed than the per-capita income of the population. Only this way the steady enhancement of the well-being of the people can be guaranteed by the advanced socialist reproduction. Only this way the development of the socialist construction can be accelerated. A strong and consolidated construction of socialism is the best bullwark of defending a socialist society. And vice versa, breaking through the capitalist-revisionist encirclement is the best way to strengthen the development of socialism in one's own country and spread socialism all over the world by means of a lively example of the advantage of socialism compared with capitalism.

The methods to achieve further advancements of the socialist economy of Albania were:

efficient usage and savings of working power and material values, financial questions, saving the inner sources of accumulation, efficiency of social production, nearly complete operating grade of the capacities of production, increase of productivity and reduction of costs, rentability of the workshops, employment of new working forces etc. Especially, it was necessary to improve the methods of planning. Appearances of globalization had to be avoided by better cooperation and connection among all branches and sectors of economy. Also necessary is the harmonization of economical, financial and technical planning, as well as the harmonization of plan development and plan fulfillment and the solution of all tasks in every chain-link of the planning chain of the homogeneous plan of the state - based on democratic socialism - namely integration of the complete participation of all the working people. The higher level of socialist consciousness of the masses serves to avoid violations of working discipline, damages and misuse of properties of the community, and disinterest. Ideological-political education had to be combined with technical-scientific research and teaching. This is not only a matter which can be solved from "above". This struggle for the strengthening of the socialist society must simultaneously be developed from bottom-up. For short: the masses must raise their revolutionary consciousness to be able to resist the increasing pressure of the capitalist-encirclement. Comrade Enver Hoxha taught that party work is a science which has to be mastered on the basis of advanced Marxism-Leninism. Socialist science is the key to solve all problems of the further development of the socialist society and its path towards communism. Communists must be conscious about the danger that routine work turns into bureaucratic work if the revolutionary spirit gets lost. The matter of the proletariat is thus a matter of conviction, mobilization and permanent revolutionization of the whole socialist society, guided by the teachings of the 5 Classics of Marxism-Leninism.

Between 11th and 12th February 1980 the Fourth Meeting of 9 Legislative Term of the National Assembly took place. Comrade Enver Hoxha participated in this meeting. On the agenda was the report *"On the fulfillment of the state plan and the state budget for 1979 and the draft plan and the state budget for 1980"*. A law on honorary titles and awards in the People's Socialist Republic of Albania was discussed, as well as decrees which were issued by the Presidium of the National Assembly in the time between the sessions the People's Assembly. The issues were discussed according to the advices of comrade Enver Hoxha about the international situation thus to strengthen the economy and defense of the whole country against the increasing pressure of the capitalist-revisionist encirclement in general, and the pressure of Chinese revisionism in particular.



Enver Hoxha - 1980

The working class, cadres, activists of the trade union and all the toiling masses of Albania have had great interest in the book of Comrade Enver Hoxha *"The Trade Unions - A School of Communism"*. "About the Trade Unions" is a collection of his works between 1941 and 1979. It was published on occasion of the 35th Anniversary of the founding of the Albanian Trade Unions (11th of February 1945). He underlined the significance of the trade unions for the construction of socialism. It is a valuable guide for the orientation of the working class in Albania and all over the world.

Before, there was no trade unions at all in Albania. Comrade Enver Hoxha was the initiator of its foundation in a time when Albania was just liberated from the fascist occupation. Many members of the founders were still carrying their Partizan rifles and stood at the head of the transformation of the people's revolution into the socialist revolution. The first task of the trade unions was the reconstruction of Albania after the war damages and then the mobilization of all working forces for the direct construction of socialism - without any intermediate stages. The exemplary attitude of proletarian internationalism must be mentioned that the Albanian trade unions adopted to the world proletariat and to the revolutionary trade unionists all over the world in their struggle against the reformist-revisionist leaders of the Yellow Trade Unions, in their struggle against all sorts of revisionism, including the Chinese revisionism.

On occasion of the 10th founding day of the CP Canada / ML, the CC of the PLA sent a letter of congratulations on the 25th of March, 1980. The answer came from Montreal, the 30th of March 1980, in which the resoluteness was expressed, to follow the general-line of the 7th Congress of the PLA and to fight commonly against imperialism, social-imperialism, reaction, revisionism and opportunism of all hues in steered unity, guided by the teachings of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. The telegram was signed by "Internationalist Rally of Marxist-Leninist Parties" (who had all participated in the celebrations).



On 22 April 1980, the celebrations on occasion of the 110th anniversary of V. I. Lenin took place. Comrade Enver Hoxha was not present.

In April 1980, Enver Hoxha's book:

"Speeches, Conversations and Articles - 1969 - 1970"

were published in English and French, later also in Spanish and Russian. Shortly after this, the famous work "Eurocommunism is Anti-communism" was published - a work of high value in the struggle of Marxism-Leninism against modern revisionism.



Enver Hoxha on May First, 1980



"Eurocommunism is Anti-communism"

The book is divided in four chapters. The first one analyzes the beginning of the main branches of modern revisionism and its role in the strategy of imperialism. The second and third chapter deals with the formation of "Eurocommunism", with its anti-Marxist, reformistic and opportunistic character and its counter-revolutionary role in the service of the bourgeoisie and imperialism. Furthermore it concerns itself with the relation of the "Eurocommunists" to the other branches of modern revisionism. The fourth chapter deals with the basic problems and development of the present Marxist-Leninist World Movement.

Enver affirms that the emergence of eurocommunism should not be seen as a simple betrayal of determined persons or groups, but as a **“social phenomenon originated by bourgeoisie’s pressures over the working class and its struggle”**. Concretely, Enver shows the objective and subjective conditions which allowed the emergence of eurocommunism; he refutes and destroys its false conceptions through a solid Marxist-Leninist argumentation.

The degeneration of eurocommunist parties started some time ago, during the period of Second World War. In the struggle against fascism, these parties stopped half-way, they hesitated in advancing revolutionary struggle. They defended democratic freedoms, but they kept this task away from the socialist objective; they were not able to link the short-term objectives with the general interests of the proletariat. They misled themselves with bourgeois “democracy” and supported the idea of accomplishing socialism through elections, through the parliament.

These weaknesses would be very useful to the bourgeoisie, which would encourage them in benefit of its interests. During that epoch, just after the war, imperialism was in great trouble. Fascism’s defeat represented a heavy blow to capitalism’s positions in the whole world. Working peoples raised their consciousness in search for emancipation. The immense prestige of Soviet Union and of the socialist system was widely spread.

A very powerful socialist camp which included the USSR and the popular democracies of Europe and Asia was formed. Communist parties consolidated their influence among the masses. Revolutionary forces were increasingly growing while the supporters of capitalism were becoming more and more isolated. However, world imperialism quickly elaborated a strategy to destroy the revolution, to annihilate the communist parties and to abolish the proletarian dictatorship. It used economic, political, ideological and military pressures and did it at a global scale. In this strategy, the role played by the opportunists and by the revisionists was that of the Trojan horse: they should act within the ranks of the workers' movement in order to destroy its organization and revolutionary activities, to deprive the proletarians from their major class headquarters, to promote ideological confusion and political disorientation.

Without conditions to frontally attack Marxism-Leninism, the revisionists try to present themselves as “Marx’s followers” and they pretend to “develop” proletarian theory in an allegedly “creative manner”.

They replace revolutionary struggle by “historical compromises” with bourgeois parties and by “democratic ways” of capitalist reformism. They highlight the changes which occurred in society with the purpose of hiding the fact that the rules which determine its development remain exactly the same.

Their treason has reached such a degree that Enver Hoxha affirms that “the programs of the revisionist parties are programs of bourgeois, socialist and social-democratic parties which are wallowing in the same waters”. The predecessor of contemporary revisionism was Earl Browder, who even defended the transformation of the Communist Party of the United States into a cultural and propaganda association whose objective would be to improve American “democracy” towards socialism. Enver Hoxha analyses its evolution and proves that these ideas have many similarities with the conceptions which had already been exposed by Mao Zedong during this period.

Browderism affirms the class differences in the USA had ended, and supported “national unity” between bourgeois and proletarians. These “theories” caused great damage in the USA and in some Latin-American parties. Blas Roca, a leader of the Cuban “Communist” Party even wrote a book only to defend these capitulationist points of view. Codovilla, in Argentina, and many other leaders in Uruguay and Chile also decided to support this ideological garbage. In Brazil, Prestes praised Browder’s “news”, but he was forced to lay down his enthusiasm in face of the vigorous answer coming from the world communist movement to this open betrayal of the revolutionary theory. Enver also unmasks “Maoism” – which tried to present itself as an opponent of revisionism – but which ultimately revealed to be nothing more than an amount of ideas which, under the pretext of adapting Marxism to Chinese conditions, denied Marxism’s fundamental principles. Enver equally proves that Titoism has played a major role in the imperialist strategy, because it divided the socialist camp during a crucial moment of the struggle between capitalism and socialism, when the correlation of forces at a world scale was favorable to the proletariat.

Enver Hoxha underlines the noxious role of Khrushchevite revisionism, which conquered power in the USSR, restored capitalism there and transformed the first socialist country and the center of world revolution into an imperialist and counter-revolutionary country. Soviet revisionists became a new bourgeoisie in power, they exploit the workers of their own country and spread their venomous influence throughout the entire world. Khrushchevist treason fostered opportunism everywhere and became a very aggressive current of international proportions. This book from Enver Hoxha focuses on eurocommunism – which is, indeed, anticommunism - and shows the various ways in which it heavily influences the French, Spanish and Italian parties. These counter-revolutionary renegades are trying to “sweeten” capitalism as much as they can. They argue that the proletariat has supposedly “integrated” within capitalism in such a degree that it has no more interests in revolution. And that the changes occurred in society have caused the other social sectors, particularly the intellectuals, to equalize themselves with the proletariat. They talk about “structural reforms” which would allegedly permit changes in the correlation of social forces, thus allowing the gradual transition to socialism through democratization of bourgeois society. They assume that these changes would even be supported by the majority of the bourgeoisie.

In Italy, Berlinguer's Eurocommunists defend that the transition towards socialism will be achieved through the line which was defined by the Republican Constitution, in alliance with christian democracy. In France, they support the formation of a "leftist bloc" with Mitterand's socialists and with the other bourgeois forces in order to construct a "democratic, self-managed socialism". In Spain, under the leadership of Santiago Carrillo, they became admirers of the monarchy – which is "democratic", accordingly with them – and they do their utmost to adapt present bourgeois institutions to popular interests. They even say that the Spanish army – the same one that kept Franco in power during several decades – can be "educated" to abandon its rightist ideas. In face of all this, it is not astonishing that for eurocommunists the concepts of class struggle and of proletarian dictatorship are old-fashioned - after all, they have thrown away even the concept of proletariat in itself. They replaced the powerful weapon which a Marxist-Leninist, vanguard party by an amorphous agglomerate which is exclusively worried about parliamentary "struggle". They replace the revolution by class conciliation.

In Brazil, the so-called Brazilian Communist Party – which is divided into several factions – is following this same path. Under the pretext of struggling for its legalization, the followers of Giocondo Dias fall into complete subservience towards the bourgeoisie. They are eager to subordinate everything to the official permission to have a seat on the parliament and they certainly dream about getting closer and closer to bourgeois power.

Recently, these revisionists went to the National Congress in order to present their statutes and program – which were elaborated in full accord with the standards established by all bourgeois parties. What's more "radical" in this document is the defense of "substantial change" with the objective of "modifying the character and functions" of state institutions. They conclude that "Mass democracy is the road to socialism in Brazil" and explain that socialism is "a social system in which political democracy is accomplished through economic and social democracy." And finally, they say their party's militants should "accept the social theory developed by Marx and Lenin as a scientific method of reality analysis."

Everything is very “inoffensive”, in total accord with bourgeois desires. To them, Marxism is nothing more than a mere method of analysis – it has nothing to do with revolutionary theory. And socialism is just a social system whose only aim is to accomplish democracy. However, unfortunately to the opportunists, life itself has rejected these falsehoods. True, we live in a different epoch from that of Marx and Engels. And capitalism has developed even relatively to the times of Lenin and Stalin. But can we talk about changes in what respects to the content of capitalist exploitation? Can we say that the material and social conditions which separate the proletariat from the bourgeoisie have changed? Is it true that capitalism’s oppressive and exploitative nature has changed? Can we affirm that workers are no longer dispossessed and laboring under the command of capital to provide added value to the capitalists? Of course not.

Particularly in the context of the present crisis – which is the most profound and comprehensive of its history – capitalism sees how all of its inner contradictions are intensifying, and this deepens even more the gap between workers and capitalists. Class struggle is becoming more acute every passing day and the revolution is, today more than ever, **"an immediate problem that demands solution"** - like Enver Hoxha says.

How can we speak about the alleged leveling of all social strata and about the integration of the proletariat in the "benefits" of capitalism in face of the 10 million unemployed in the U.S., of the 2.5 million unemployed in France and of many others in Germany, England, Italy and in the rest of the capitalist world? How to explain the "wonders" of this social system to those workers who have their wages frozen by imposition of the capitalist governments which are lackeys of the exploiters and whose only purpose is to safeguard the profits of the bourgeoisie?

And what about the reductions in the existing achievements in relation to social security and relatively to health care, in particular? How can we speak about the supposed expansion of democracy when the bourgeoisie is currently adopting new fascist laws and is increasing police repression against workers?

Indeed, far from denying it, reality fully confirms Marxism-Leninism. In their desperate efforts to conceal this fact, revisionists of all kinds can only reveal themselves as agents of the bourgeoisie whose objective is to perpetuate capitalism. Enver Hoxha notes that **"the strategy and tactics of the bourgeoisie, which were also adopted by the eurocommunists, try to divide the working class in order to prevent the formation of a single fighting force which they will be obliged to face."**

Through his principled criticism on to revisionism, Enver Hoxha is able to strengthen and to consolidate the steel of the revolutionary theory of the proletarian party – a necessary weapon to unite the working class in order to win genuine freedom and to construct socialism and communism. He states that **“Revolution and socialism are the only things that the proletariat and the masses need to solve the irreconcilable contradictions of capitalist society, to end oppression and exploitation, to achieve true freedom and equality. And while there is oppression and exploitation, as long as capitalism exists, the thoughts and the struggles of the masses are always directed towards revolution and socialism.”**

The fight against revisionism is a permanent task. Unmasked and defeated at a given time, this weed later resurfaces with new clothes, always dressed with a revolutionary language to serve the bourgeoisie, preaching the reconciliation of classes. This struggle is an inalienable part of the class war in the ideological field.

Enver Hoxha has always been an outstanding defender of Marxism-Leninism and an uncompromising critic of revisionism. While leading the PLA, he faced a tough battle against Titoism, which took power in Yugoslavia and pressured the Party and the government of Albania in political, economic, ideological and military fields.

Likewise, since the infamous XX^o Congress of the CPSU, he has been resolutely struggling against Khrushchevism and against the immense power of the Soviet Union, which was transformed into a social-imperialist superpower.

The book “Eurocommunism is Anticommunism” clarifies important theoretical problems and helps to understand the role of revisionism in the hegemonic strategy of the USSR and the USA. It is an essential reading for workers and for all those who study Marxism-Leninism. (Rogério Lustosa)

Comrade Enver Hoxha wrote:

The Marxist-Leninist movement was born and developed in this great process of differentiation from modern revisionism and the struggle for the cause of communism, and took upon itself to raise and carry forward the banner of the revolution and socialism, betrayed and rejected by the former communist parties. which the revisionist degeneration had transformed into firemen to quell the flames of the revolution and the peoples' liberation wars. The formation of new Marxist-Leninist parties was a victory of historic importance for the working class of each country, as well as for the cause of the revolution on a world scale.

Bearing in mind the struggle which the modern revisionists wage against the Leninist theory and practice on the party, the genuine communist revolutionaries fight for the defence, strengthening and development of proletarian parties built on the basis of the teachings of Marxism-Leninism. They are conscious that without such a party, without an organized vanguard detachment of the working class, the revolution cannot be carried out, the national liberation struggle cannot be waged correctly through to the end and the bourgeois-democratic revolution cannot be deepened and go over to the proletarian revolution.

A party of the working class becomes its truly organized detachment, its supreme staff when it is educated with and masters the Marxist-Leninist theory and when it uses, this powerful and irreplaceable weapon competently, in a creative way, in the class struggle for the triumph of the revolution, for the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the construction of socialism.

The genuine Marxist-Leninist party is characterized by the clear-cut and resolute stand which it maintains towards modern revisionism, towards Khrushchevism, Titoism, Mao Zedong thought, Eurocommunism, etc. The establishment of a clear line of demarcation over this question is of major principled importance.

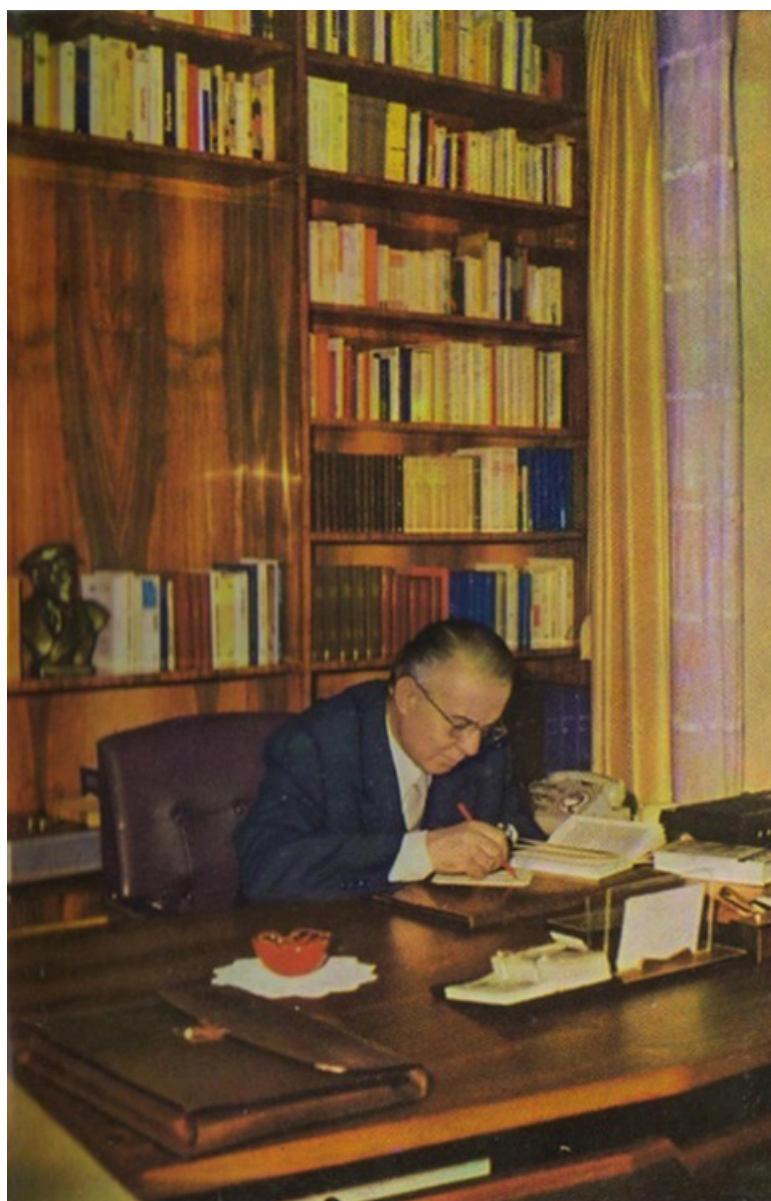
Comrade Enver Hoxha finished his book with the following words:

The bourgeoisie, the revisionists and all the other opportunists are trying to restrain the revolution and to extinguish the communist ideal. At given stages and in special historical conditions, they even manage to bemuse and confuse the proletariat and working masses, and to obscure the prospects of the socialist future to some degree. But this is a temporary and passing phenomenon. The revolution and socialism as a theory and practical activity cannot be imposed on the masses from outside by isolated individuals or groups of people. The revolution and socialism represent the only key which the proletariat and the masses need to solve the irreconcilable contradictions of capitalist society, to put an end to their exploitation and oppression and establish genuine freedom and equality. As long as there is oppression and exploitation, as long as capitalism exists, the thinking and struggle of the masses will always be directed towards the revolution and socialism.

The Eurocommunists have rejected the banner of Marxism-Leninism, the revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat. They preach class peace and sing hymns to bourgeois democracy. However, the ills of bourgeois society are not cured and its contradictions are not resolved with sermons and hymns. History has already proved this and its lessons cannot be set aside. The proletariat, the oppressed and the exploited are moving naturally towards the revolution, towards the dictatorship of the proletariat and socialism. Just as naturally they are seeking the road which leads to the fulfilment of these historical aspirations, the road which the immortal theory of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin shows them. Only the Marxist-Leninists hold high the banner of the revolution and carry it forward. It is the duty of the new Marxist-Leninist communist parties to take over the leadership of class battles which the Eurocommunists have abandoned, to provide the proletariat and the masses with that militant fighting vanguard which they are seeking and accept as their leadership.

The situation is not easy, but let us recall the optimistic words of Stalin, that "there is no fortress which the communists cannot take". This revolutionary optimism stems from the objective laws of the development of society. Capitalism is an order condemned by history to liquidation. Nothing, neither the frenzied resistance of the bourgeoisie nor the treachery of modern revisionists can save it from its inevitable doom. The future belongs to socialism and communism.

Between 27th and 28th of June, 1980, the Fifth Meeting of 9 Legislative Term of the National Assembly took place. Comrade Enver Hoxha participated in this meeting. On this meeting the new employment law was decided according to the directives of the 7th Congress of the PLA. In the socialist society the accordance of individual and social interests are based on the social property of the means of production, whereas the social interests are superordinated. The right of labour is anchored in the socialist constitution and practically guaranteed by the whole socialist society, the socialist property, the socialist relations of production, the proportional and well-planned development of the entire socio-economical life of the socialist country. Therefore, there is no unemployment compared with the capitalist-revisionist countries. The right of labour is inseparably connected with the duty of labour: Everybody according abilities, everybody according to his contributions. Workers and clerks are payed according the quantity and quality of the work done. The state cares about a moderate wage differentials - thus neither creation of egalitarianism nor privileged shifts. Men and women get the same wages, whereas additional measures of protection and support are guaranteed by the socialist state because of their burdening situation in the family life.



On July 1, 1980, comrade Enver Hoxha wrote the article:

THE GREAT WORLD ECONOMIC CRISIS **IS INTENSIFYING**

He wrote:

This major economic crisis is a crisis of overproduction, of the industrial boom (English in the original) but, at the same time, it has caused a profound crisis in production. In fact, in all the capitalist and revisionist countries it has led to increased unemployment, inflation, price rises, etc. This means that, at present, production has fallen and the struggle has begun to clear stocks of goods. However the capitalist bourgeoisie does not clear these stocks of goods by reducing prices, but by turning the workers out on the streets, that is, by slowing down production. So, since capitalist industry no longer functions at its former level of productivity, the crisis of raw materials emerges. This crisis, likewise, is very grave and is accompanied with the colossal interimperialist struggle for markets. This struggle, sometimes open and sometimes subversive, is accompanied with an increase in military budgets and sophisticated conventional and atomic-nuclear weapons to levels incomparably higher than ever before.

At present the struggle of the peoples who are oppressed and exploited by world capital in crisis has assumed proportions and a variety of forms never seen before. This is precisely the true source of the great economic crisis which has engulfed the capitalist and revisionist world. On the surface, it seems as if the armed conflicts, the conflicts in the field of economic-financial relations, the great energy crisis and so on are only between capitalist states, but in fact the origin of these conflicts is more deep-seated and is eroding the bourgeois capitalist state which is striving to defend itself, to stay alive, to heal its numerous wounds, etc. The force which is eroding the bourgeois capitalist state is the struggle in all forms and at all levels that the peoples of the world are waging. In one way or another, here with greater there with lesser intensity, the working class and all the exploited are aware of and fight against all forms of the capitalist regime, either local or international, which is exploiting, impoverishing and oppressing them economically and morally. Hence there is great discontent and revolt among the peoples of the world.

In almost all the capitalist countries today strikes involving millions of people are taking place, there are fierce clashes with the force of law and order, there are armed revolts, but also military putsches, acts of terrorism and anarchism organized by the ruling bourgeois capitalist governments, there is a colossal amount of smuggling and theft organized on a national and international scale, there is an unlimited and monstrous development of political, moral and physical corruption. Thus the way is being prepared for fascism to come to power.

Today we are living in the period of the decay of capitalism, of the weakening, disintegration and bankruptcy this system, this degenerate society. There is no way out of this chaos, this filth other than the revolution, the surgical removal of the rotten tissue, the seizure of state power by the working class, which has the mission to establish the dictatorship of the proletariat. What Lenin said about this process is being confirmed and it will certainly take place.

Viewing the situation as a whole with a Marxist-Leninist eye, it can be seen that the class struggle is being waged in every corner of the world in classical and non-classical forms. Everywhere the peoples are extremely anxious and worried. Their discontent and anger at the oppressive forces, whether national or foreign, are increasing, mounting, taking specific material shape. Regardless of who is leading the national liberation armed struggles of the peoples, the blood of the peoples fighting for their freedom and independence reflects their hatred and wrath against local and foreign capitalist oppression, and in the course of these struggles the peoples distinguish the antipopular stands of individuals or groups, and form alliances with the most progressive and most revolutionary forces. In every movement, in every demonstration or strike, in every public, political or economic manifestation, it is impossible not to protest against the destructive effects of the grave crisis and not to put the finger on the persons responsible for the exploitation and oppression of the peoples, the forces which want the destruction of mankind.

The Marxist-Leninist communists must be able to make correct analyses, to determine the proper strategy and tactics, to form alliances in favour of the revolution, to under-take correct revolutionary actions and not adventures and see all these from the standpoint of the Marxist-Leninist theory, because only in this way can one serve the liberation of the peoples from capitalism and make revolution.

National liberation wars are just wars. They break out when the objective and subjective factors exist and have matured. The Marxist-Leninists themselves must help in the creation of these factors. The Marxist-Leninists must never sit idle and not take part in the just wars, either as parties, or as groups when they are not yet organized as parties, or as individual fighters. They must never stand aloof from the masses who are fighting for social and national liberation, but while fighting in their midst, they must confirm their communist convictions, organize themselves and place the working class in the leadership. Even when they are not organized, they must emerge in the vanguard of the masses through their struggle and sacrifices, so that the national liberation war advances towards its minimal objectives, and then goes on to its ultimate objectives.

The creation of conditions for the outbreak of national-liberation wars does not depend on the will of one or the other personality. It is the objective and subjective situations that cause the outbreak of the national liberation wars which are a high level form of the class struggle. That class which emerges in the forefront and leads the national liberation war is the most progressive, the decisive factor. The working class is the most progressive of the progressive classes. It must assume the leadership of the liberation war. If at the outset of the war it has not ensured its leading position, it must stand in the forefront of the fighting and sacrifices, because only in this way can it take over the political and military leadership, ensure the fulfilment of the objectives of the national liberation war and realize its own desires.

in this great economic crisis of world capitalism, the Marxist-Leninist communists, wherever they are in the world, must clearly define their line and stands and know how to apply this line in practice. In these highly complicated situations in which there are clashes of the interests of classes which are not separated by clear-cut divisions, but are interlinked and interdependent, only a genuine Marxist-Leninist party can see clearly where the advantages and where the disadvantages lie, distinguish enemies from friends, know with whom to unite. against whom, and how they must fight and carry this war forward, etc.



Enver Hoxha visits the sister of the communist militant Korca Group, Sotir Gurra

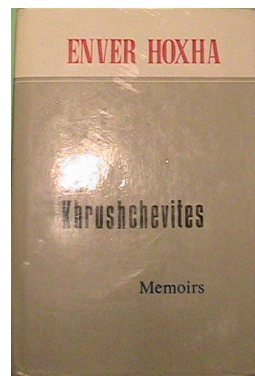
August 1980

In July - August 1980 comrade Enver Hoxha visited the Korca district. He was warmly and enthusiastically welcomed by the workers of the sugar factory which was established on their own forces. Once having successfully led the Plenum of the CC of the PLA for setting the course of advanced use of science and technology, comrade Enver Hoxha was on site in the factories to discuss the new scientific tasks with the workers. Comrade Enver Hoxha was everywhere to participate personally and with great sympathy all the revolutionary initiative and work that the Albanian people have done for the prospering of their beloved socialist homeland.

He also visited the memorials which were built in honour of the liberation fighters, the home of the veteran Agush Gjergjevica and Miha Lako. In this Korca district comrade Enver Hoxha was already avtive communist before the party was founded. Here was the cradle of the famous "Korca-Group". It is quite understandable that comrade Enver Hoxha came often back to Korca for to see his old comrades in arms, their families and friends. The citizens of Korca received comrade Enver Hoxha like a devoted son.

During journeys, on visits to towns and districts of the Homeland Enver Hoxha sought meetings, simple conversations, at which people spoke freely, with open hearts, as with someone close and dear to them. Wherever he went, he would ask about his many acquaintances, about their health, their families and their problems. He woul inquire especially about those he had known in the common war for the triumphgh of freedom and socialism, about patriots and fighters, about individuals who had distinguished themselves in their efforts for the people's happiness. Many of them he had known personally during those years, some he had met later, and others he had come to know through the friendly letters they had exchanged.

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"The Khrushchevites"

The book: was already written in 1976 and later published in 1980.

This book of comrade Enver Hoxha is a further prove of the principled struggle of the PLA against revisionism of all hues, a further prove for the defense of the purity of Marxism-Leninism.

"The Khrushchevites" is another work of the series of his memories of the book "With Stalin", which was released in December 1979.

In the book "The Khrushchevites" Enver Hoxha drew up a vivid and detailed picture of his contacts with leaders of the CPSU and other Communist and workers' parties, of the development of relations between the PLA and such third parties in the period 1953 - 1961, ie since the death of Stalin up to the final break with the Khrushchevites. Above all, the talks, meetings and mutual visits, and joint consultations on political, ideological, economic and military problems are basic content of this book. The break with the Soviet revisionism took place in a complex and contradictory process, which was characterized by a zigzag course, intermediate normalization, and finally by continuous struggles out of which the irreconcilable differences and open conflict between revisionism and Marxism-Leninism emerged unavoidably.

His book dealt with the Soviet leaders who were in power after Stalin's death. Enver Hoxha did not only analyze their revisionist political-ideological stance, but also the personal characteristics which came to light during the talks. Based on the profound reflection of his own experiences during the talks, Comrade Enver Hoxha came later to theoretical insights and conclusions that paved the way of the PLA and the whole Marxist-Leninist world movement towards the historical struggle against modern revisionism. And this proves Comrade Enver Hoxha as to be the 5th Classic of Marxism-Leninism. The book "The Khrushchevites" is thus an excellent example that socialist Albania proved to the whole world that it was able to resist successfully the influence of the capitalist-revisionist world. The Hoxhaism has also shown that the construction of socialism in their own country progresses victorious despite increasing pressure by the Soviet revisionist superpower.

Comrade Enver Hoxha labeled the roots of restoration of capitalism:

bureaucratism, technocracy, neglect of revolutionary vigilance, the rule of the apparatchiks over the party and the state, the emergence of a megalomaniac caste, pathological euphoria and hubris, arrogance and ruthlessness, climbing the career ladder, striving for privileges, acquisitiveness - thus the same, well-known bourgeois characteristics. And above all: getting rid of the Stalinist compass !

Comrade Enver Hoxha defended Stalinism before the eyes of the counterrevolutionary leaders of the Soviet Union - such as Khrushchev, Mikoyan, Malenkov, Beria, Bulganin, Kosygin, Kozlov, Manilowski, Andropov, etc. It was they who fueled the cult of Stalin, while they forged intrigues and conspiracies behind the back of comrade Stalin, while they instigated coups, while they put away their enemies. And finally they murdered Comrade Stalin treacherously. The success of their conspiracy was also favored by the liberal-passive attitude of the "old guard" to which belonged Molotov, Kaganovich, Voroshilov, etc. Comrade Enver Hoxha labeled this Old Garde as "the corpse of Bolshevism".

In the book, the methods are presented, with which the Khrushchevites tried to subdue Albania - such as: Official talks, "Holiday"- Invitations, "accidental" meetings, receptions, feigned generosity, listening devices, KGB activities, open provocations and extortion in connection with feigned hospitality, adulation, flattery, etc. in short: the methods of carrot and stick. In other countries and parties the Khrushchevites succeeded to eliminate the revolutionary leaders, and to make the anti-Marxist-Leninist elements to leading posts. But the Soviet revisionists found Albania a hard nut to crack. The Book of Enver Hoxha is a severe blow to the Khrushchevites in particular, and devastating to modern revisionism in general. Last not least we must point to those parts of the book in which comrade Enver Hoxha unmasked Titoism and Chinese Revisionism. Comrade Enver Hoxha resumed:

The fact that our small Homeland and people have not suffered the tragic fate of all those who are now languishing under imperialist or social imperialist slavery is the best testimony to the correctness of the consistent, courageous and principled line which our Party of Labour has always followed. The merit for this correct course belongs to the whole Party and, in particular, to its leadership, the Central Committee, which, imbued with and loyal to the teachings of Marxism-Leninism, our guiding theory, has always led the Party and the people correctly. In the great tests which we have had to withstand, the unity of the Party with its leadership and the unity of the people around the Party have been brilliant and have become further tempered. This steel unity gave the Party support and strength in the difficult but glorious struggle against the Khrushchevite revisionists, too. This unity has been and is the foundation of the stability and confidence with which Albania has marched and is marching forward, withstanding the pressure and blackmail, the blandishments and demagoguery of enemies of all hues. As a communist and leader of the Party, I, too, have had to take part actively and make my contribution to all this heroic struggle of our Party. Charged by the Party and its leadership, since the liberation of Albania, and especially during the years 1950-1960, I have headed delegations of the Party and the state many times in official meetings with the Soviet leaders and with the main leaders of other communist and workers' parties. Likewise, many times we have exchanged reciprocal visits, I have taken part in consultations and international meetings of communist parties at which I have expressed and defended the correct line, decisions and instructions of the Party.

Comrade Enver Hoxha divided his book in the following chapters:

1. IN-FIGHTING AMONG THE TOP SOVIET LEADERS

Stalin dies. Next day the top Soviet leadership divides up the portfolios. Khrushchev climbs the steps to power. Disillusionment from the first meeting with the «new» Soviet leaders in June 1953. Ill-intentioned criticism from Mikoyan and Bulganin. The end of Beria's short-lived reign. The meeting with Khrushchev in June 1954: «You helped in the exposure of Beria.» Khrushchev's «theoretical» lecture on the roles of the first secretary of the party and the prime minister. The revisionist mafia spins its spider's web inside and outside the Soviet Union.

One day after Stalin's death on March 6, 1953, the Central Committee of the party, the Council of Ministers and the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR were summoned to an urgent joint meeting. On occasions of great losses, such as the death of Stalin, urgent meetings are necessary and indispensable. However, the many important changes which were announced in the press one day later, showed that this urgent meeting had been held for no other reason but... the sharing out of posts! Stalin had only just died, his body had not yet been placed in the hall where the final homage was to be paid, the program for the organization of paying homage and the funeral ceremony was still not worked out, the Soviet communists and the Soviet people were weeping over their great loss, while the top Soviet leadership found the time to share out the portfolios! Malenkov became premier, Beria became first deputy premier and minister of internal affairs, and Bulganin, Kaganovich, Mikoyan, Molotov shared the other posts. Major changes were made in all the top organs in the party and the state within that day. The Presidium and the Bureau of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the party were merged into a single organ, new secretaries of the Central Committee of the party were elected, a number of ministries were amalgamated or united, changes were made in the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet, etc.

We, and many like us, thought that Molotov, Stalin's closest collaborator, the oldest and the most mature bolshevik, with the greatest experience and best known inside and outside the Soviet Union, would be elected first secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. But it did not turn out so. Malenkov was placed at the head, with Beria in second place. Behind them in those days, a little more in the shade, stood a «panther» which was preparing itself to gobble up and liquidate the former two. This was Nikita Khrushchev.

Stalin proved himself to be an outstanding Marxist-Leninist with clear principles, with great courage and cool-headedness, and the maturity and foresight of a Marxist revolutionary. If we just reflect on the strength of the external and internal enemies in the Soviet Union, on the manoeuvres and unrestrained propaganda they indulged in, on the fiendish tactics they used, then we can properly appreciate the principles and correct actions of Stalin at the head of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. If there were some excesses in the course of this just and titanic struggle, it was not Stalin who committed them, but Khrushchev, Beria and company, who for sinister hidden motives, showed themselves the most zealous for purges at the time when they were not yet so powerful. They acted in this way to gain credit as «ardent defenders» of the dictatorship of the proletariat, as «merciless with the enemies», with the aim of climbing the steps in order to usurp power later.

2. KHRUSHCHEV'S STRATEGY AND TACTICS WITHIN THE SOVIET UNION

The roots of the tragedy of the Soviet Union. The stages through which Khrushchev passes towards seizing political and ideological power. The Khrushchevite caste corrodes the sword of the revolution. What lies behind Khrushchev's «collective leadership». Khrushchev and Mikoyan - the head of the counterrevolutionary plot. The breeze of liberalism is blowing in the Soviet Union. Khrushchev and Voroshilov speak openly against Stalin. Khrushchev builds up his own cult. The enemies of the revolution are proclaimed «heroes» and «victims».

Before the death of Stalin, Khrushchev and his close collaborators in the putsch were among the main leaders who acted under cover, who made preparations and awaited the appropriate moment for open action on a broad scale. It is a fact that these traitors were hardened conspirators, with the experience of various Russian counter-revolutionaries, the experience of anarchists, Trotskyites and Bukharinites.

This was a diabolical hostile activity which had a strangle-hold on the Soviet Union, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and Stalin, who, as the historical facts showed, was surrounded by enemies. Almost none of the members of the Presidium and the Central Committee raised their voices in defence of socialism and Stalin.

3. NOT MARXIST-LENINISTS BUT HUCKSTERS

Mikoyan, a cosmopolitan huckster and inveterate anti-Albanian. Difficult talks in June 1953 on economic matters - the Soviet leaders are bargaining over aid for Albania. Khrushchev's «advice» one year later: «You don't need heavy industry», «We shall supply you with oil and metals», «Don't worry about bread grain, we'll supply you with all you want.>. Quarrels with Mikoyan. Discontent in Comecon from the revisionist chiefs. Ochab, Dej, Ulbricht. The June 1956 Comecon consultation in Moscow Khrushchev: «... we must do what Hitler did.» Talks with Khrushchev again. His «advice»: «Albania should advance with cotton, sheep, fish and citrus fruit.»

4. THE TOUCH-STONE

Khrushchev has his eyes on Yugoslavia. The first sign of the flirtation: the Soviet letter of June 1954; Khrushchev blames the Information Bureau for the Yugoslav leadership's betrayal. Intense exchange of cordial correspondence between Khrushchev and Tito. Khrushchev decides to rehabilitate the renegades. Our clear-cut opposition: the letters of May and June 1955. Talk with Ambassador Levichkin: «How can such decisions be taken so lightly and in a unilateral way?» Insistent invitation to go to the Soviet Union -on holiday»l Meeting with Suslov. Mikoyan telephones at midnight: "Meet Tempo, iron out your disagreements.» The meeting with S. V. Tempo.

Khrushchev's flirtations with Tito were particularly unpleasant for us. We, for our part, continued to fight Titoite Yugoslav revisionism with the greatest severity and defended the correct Marxist-Leninist stands of Stalin and the Information Bureau towards the Yugoslav revisionist leaders. We did this not only while Stalin was alive, but also in the transitional period that the Soviet Union went through after Stalin's death, when Khrushchev triumphed with his putsch and made the law there, as well as after Khrushchev fell. And this is the stand we shall always maintain towards Yugoslav revisionism, until it is completely destroyed ideologically and politically.

In our written reply we countered Khrushchev's idea that the «breaking off of relations drove the Yugoslav leaders into the lap of imperialism», with the thesis that it was the Yugoslav leaders themselves who betrayed Marxism Leninism and set their people and their homeland on the course of enslavement and under the dictate of Anglo-American imperialists, that it was their anti-Marxist line which was the factor that gravely damaged the vital interests of the peoples of Yugoslavia, that it was they who took Yugoslavia out of the socialist camp, who changed the Yugoslav party into a bourgeois party and isolated it from the world movement of the proletariat.

5. THE «MOTHER PARTY» WANTS TO BE THE CONDUCTOR

Khrushchev seeks hegemony in the world communist movement. His attack on the Comintern and the Information Bureau. The Khrushchevites extend their tentacles to other parties. The sudden deaths of Gottwald and Bierut. Unforgettable memories from the meeting with Dimitrov and Kolarov. Correct but formal relations with Rumania. The opportunist zig-zags of the Rumanian leadership. Pleasant impressions from Czechoslovakia; wandering at will and visits to historical sites. Suffocating atmosphere everywhere in the Soviet Union. The chinovniki surround us everywhere. Our relations with the East Germans.

The Khrushchevites wanted to have not only the countries of people's democracy, but also the whole international communist movement, under their direction. Of course, within the world communist movement, the Khrushchevites did not come out with a completely open revisionist platform right from the start. Just as within the Soviet Union, they tried to adopt a flexible line, in order to avoid arousing an immediate reaction in either their own party or the others. The «Leninism» of which they spoke, the odd good word dropped here or there about Stalin, their noisy advertisement of «Leninist principles in the relations among the socialist countries», served to disguise the plots they were hatching up, and to gradually prepare the ground for their subsequent frontal attack. This they launched at the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. There they laid their cards on the table, because Khrushchev and Co. had worked for a long time to paralyze any possible reaction inside or outside the country.

6. THE OFFICIAL PROCLAMATION OF REVISIONISM

The 20th Congress of the CPSU. Khrushchev's theses - the charter of modern revisionism. The «secret» report against Stalin. Togliatti demands recognition of his «merits». Tito in the Soviet Union. Molotov is dismissed from the task of foreign minister. Abortive attempt of the «anti-party group». The end of the career of Marshal Zhukov. Another victim of the Khrushchevites' backstage manoeuvres: Kirichenko. May 1956: Suslov demands that we rehabilitate Koçi Xoxe and company. June 1956: . Tito and Khrushchev are displeased with us. July 1957: Khrushchev arranges a dinner in Moscow so that we meet Rankovic and Kardelj.

7. DESIGNING THE EMPIRE

Towards turning the socialist countries into Russian dominions. Changes in the Bulgarian leadership dictated by Moscow. Zhivkov's «clock» is wound up in Moscow. The Danubian complex and the Rumanians' "fall-out» with the Soviets. The official elimination of the Information Bureau. The reformist illusions of the Italian and French parties - Togliatti, the father of «polycentrism». Unforgettable meeting with two beloved French comrades, Marcel Cachin and Gaston Monmousseau. The vacillations of Maurice Thorez. Destruction of the unity of the communist movement, a colossal service for world imperialism.

Khrushchev had to get rid of his opponents, not only in the Soviet Union but also in the countries of people's democracy. Those who believed in the Marxist-Leninist line of Stalin had to be culled from the party leaderships. Likewise, those who were against Tito, with whom Khrushchev had come to agreement, had to be purged; while those who had condemned Tito's agents in their own countries had to rehabilitate these traitors and themselves be removed from the leadership. Khrushchev used all methods: Gottwald died, Bierut died, Gomulka and Kadar were returned to power, Dej turned his coat, Rakosi and Chervenkov were liquidated. We were the only ones whom Khrushchev was unable to liquidate.

8. MY FIRST AND LAST VISIT TO CHINA

Our relations with the CPC and the PRC up till 1956. Invitations from China, Korea and Mongolia. An astounding event in Korea: two members of the Political Bureau flee to. . . China! Ponomaryov defends the fugitives. Mikoyan and Peng Dehuizi «tune up» Kim Il Sung. The meeting with Mao Zedong: *Neither the Yugoslavs nor you were wrong», «Stalin made mistakes», «It is necessary to make mistakes». Li Lisan at the 8th Congress of the CPC: *I ask you to help me, because I may make mistakes again.» Disappointment and concern over the 8th Congress of the CPC. Meetings in Beijing with Dej, Yugov, Zhou Enlai and others. Bodnaras as intermediary to reconcile us with Tito.

From the talk with Mao we did not learn anything constructive, which would be of value to us, and the meeting seemed to us mostly a gesture of courtesy. We were especially disappointed over the things we heard from the mouth of Mao about the Information Bureau, Stalin and the Yugoslav question.

Time confirmed that in no instance, either in 1956 or in the 60's did the Communist Party of China proceed or act from the positions of Marxism-Leninism. In 1956 it rushed to take up the banner of revisionism, in order to elbow Khrushchev out and gain the role of the leader in the communist and workers' movement for itself. But when Mao Zedong and his associates saw that they would not easily emerge triumphant over the patriarch of modern revisionism, Khrushchev, through the revisionist contest, they changed their tactic, pretended to reject their former flag, presented themselves as «pure Marxist-Leninists», striving in this way, to win those positions which they had been unable to win with their former tactic. When this second tactic turned out no good, either, they -discarded» their second, allegedly Marxist Leninist, flag and came out in the arena as they had always been, opportunists, loyal champions of a line of conciliation and capitulation towards capital and reaction. We were to see all these things confirmed in practice, through a long, difficult and glorious struggle which our Party waged in defence of Marxism-Leninism.

9. THE «DEMONS» ESCAPE FROM CONTROL

The counter-revolution in action in Hungary and Poland. Matyas Rakosi. Who cooked up the «broth» in Budapest? Talk with Hungarian leaders. Debate with Suslov in Moscow. Imre Nagy's «self-criticism». Rakosi falls. Reaction surges ahead. Khrushchev, Tito and Gerö in the Crimea. Andropov: «We cannot call the insurgents counter-revolutionaries.» The Soviet leadership is hesitant. The Hungarian Workers' Party is liquidated. Nagy announces Hungary's withdrawal from the Warsaw Treaty. Part of the back-stage manoeuvres: the Tito-Khrushchev letters. Poland 1956 - Gomulka on the throne. In retrospect: Bierut. Gomulka's counter-revolutionary program. What we learn from the events of 1956. Talks in Moscow, December 1956.

As in Hungary, East Germany, Rumania and elsewhere, the Polish party was formed through a mechanical merger of the existing party with the bourgeois parties, so-called workers' parties. Perhaps such a thing was necessary in order to unite the proletariat under the leadership of a single party, but this union should have been brought about through a great deal of ideological, political and organizational work, to ensure that the former members of other parties were not only assimilated, but what is more important, were thoroughly educated with the Marxist-Leninist ideological and organizational norms. But this was not done either in Poland, Hungary, or elsewhere and all that happened in fact was that the members of the :bourgeois parties changed their names, became «communists», while retaining their old views, their old outlook. Thus, the parties of the proletariat were not strengthened, but on the contrary, were weakened, because social-democrats and opportunists like Cyrankiewicz, Marosan, Grotewohl, etc., established themselves and their views in them.

10. TEMPORARY RETREAT IN ORDER TO TAKE REVENGE

The Soviets demand «unity». The Moscow Meeting of 1957. Khrushchev's negotiations to bring Tito to the meeting. Khrushchev's shortlived „anger». Debate over the formula: -Headed by the Soviet Union.» Gomulka: «We are not dependent on the Soviet Union.» Mao Zedong: «Our camp must have a head because even a snake has a head.» Togliatti: «We must open new roads», «we are against a single leading centre», «we do not want to use Lenin's thesis 'the party of the new type'». Mao's sophistry: 80 per cent, 70 per cent and 10 per cent "Marxists». The Mescow Declaration and the Yugoslav reaction. Khrushchev disguises his betrayal under the name of Lenin.

The genuine communists were taken by surprise. In this direction, the unhealthy anti-Marxist sentimentality, which prevented them from raising their voices against their parties which were degenerating, against old leaders who were betraying, against the Soviet Union, which they loved so much, from realizing the catastrophe for which the homeland of Lenin and Stalin was heading, played a negative role. The capitalist bourgeoisie helped to deepen this confusion as much as possible with all its forces and economic and propaganda means. In this way, Khrushchev's cunning plan was developed in detail through intrigues, pressure, demagoguery, blackmail, false accusations and violation of the treaties, agreements and accords, which had existed between the Soviet Union and China, as well as between the Soviet Union and Albania, until the Khrushchevites arrived at the «famous» Bucharest Meeting.

11. «THE CARROT» AND «THE STICK»

Our Party and Government delegation goes to the Soviet Union. Khrushchev's manoeuvres: the «carrot» in evidence - the Soviet government converts the credits into grants. Leningrad: Pospyshev and Kozlov censor our speeches. «We should not mention the Yugoslavs.» Our official talk with Khrushchev and others. Khrushchev gets angry: «You want to take us back to Stalin's course», «Tito and Rankovic are better than Kardelj and Popovic. Tempo is an ass . . . , is unstable.» A chance meeting with the Yugoslav ambassador in Moscow, Micunovic. Khrushchev's visit to Albania, May 1959. Khrushchev and Malinovsky ask us for military bases: «We shall control the whole Mediterranean from the Bosphorus to Gibraltar.» The adviser on the extermination of dogs. The Soviet Embassy in Tirana, a centre of the KGB

In the first place and above all, we had to keep the Party on the rails of Marxism-Leninism, to fight the penetration of revisionism, and wage this fight by persistently defending the Leninist norms and protecting the unity in the leadership and in the Party. This was the main guarantee to keep us immune from Titoism and Khrushchevism.

As before, the Yugoslav question was one of the main issues that divided us from the Khrushchevites, who did everything in their power to have us reconcile ourselves to the Yugoslav revisionists. Khrushchev wanted our reconciliation with them, because by means of this reconciliation he wanted us to relinquish our resolute Marxist-Leninist course, to relinquish any correct and principled stand on the internal and international planes, that is, to submit to the Khrushchevite line.

We openly expressed our views about the tense international situation at this period, spoke about the true causes of the disturbances which were occurring in the socialist camp, hit hard at the manoeuvres of imperialism, headed by American imperialism, exposed modern revisionism, and expressed and defended the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism.

We do not trust the Yugoslav leaders, because they speak against the social system in our countries and are opposed to the foundation of Marxism-Leninism. In all their propaganda, they do not say one word against imperialism, on the contrary, have joined the chorus of the Western powers against us. In 14 years, we have not seen the Yugoslav leadership make the slightest change that would make us think it has understood any of its grave mistakes and deviation's, which have long been under attack. We are not going to take any step which would damage the interests of socialism and Marxism-Leninism, we are not going to wage war on them and neither will we interfere in the internal affairs of Yugoslavia. We are not and never have been for such actions, but we consider it our permanent duty to defend our correct ideological and political line and to unceasingly expose opportunism and revisionism.

«You Albanians astound me,» Krushchev said. «You are stubborn.» - «No,» I said, «we are Marxists.»

For us, the leadership of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union was finished. Khrushchev and the Khrushchevites were revisionists, traitors. War would be declared. The time of the declaration of war was only a matter of months, while our relations continued to hang on a thread.

12. FROM BUCAREST TO MOSCOW

February 1960: Mikoyan on the ChineseSoviet differences. Exacerbation of the situation between Moscow and Beijing. Kosygin pays a «visit» to Mehmet Shehu in Moscow. The Bucharest plot. Hysni Kapo does not bat an eyelid at Khrushchev's pressure. The Soviets set their secret agents in motion and establish the blockade to starve us. The struggle in the preparatory commission for the Moscow Meeting. Our delegation in Moscow. Icy atmosphere. The Soviet Gargantuas. Pressure, flattery, provocations again. The Kremlin marshals. A brief meeting with Andropov. Khrushchev's tactic: «There should be no polemics.» The mercenaries react against our speech. The last talks with the Khrushchevite renegades.

Judging from the aims which the Khrushchevites sought to achieve, politically, ideologically and organizationally, the Bucharest Meeting was a Trotskyite, anti-Marxist, revisionist putsch. From the form of its organization too, this meeting was a plot from start to finish.

Mikoyan spoke to us at length about the differences with the Chinese party. Mikoyan spun his tale in such a way as to create the impression that they themselves stood in principled Leninist positions and were fighting the deviations of the Chinese leadership. Amongst other things, Mikoyan used as arguments several theses of the Chinese which, in fact, for us, too, were not right from the viewpoint of the Marxist-Leninist ideology. Thus, Mikoyan mentioned the pluralist theories of «one hundred flowers», the question of the cult of Mao, the «great leap forward», etc. «We have Marxism-Leninism and do not need any other theory,» I told Mikoyan, «while as to the 'one hundred flowers' we have neither accepted this view nor have we ever mentioned it.»

Khrushchev was preparing the Bucharest plot and wanted to manipulate us, to compel us at all costs to agree with his revisionist views and stands. Such was the situation on the eve of the Bucharest meeting, which, from beginning to end, was to remain a blot on the history of the international communist and workers' movement. The Khrushchevites were organizing it allegedly to set the date of the future meeting, but the setting of the date was a formality. The Khrushchevites had another objective. What was important to them was the taking of a series of decisions to go «as a bloc» to the future meeting of all parties. «As a bloc», according to them, meant to go closely united around the Khrushchevite revisionists in order to give unquestioning support to their betrayal of the Marxist-Leninist theory and the correct revolutionary Marxist-Leninist practice in all international and national problems. In short, Khrushchev thought that the time had come to establish his iron law over the herd he wanted to command.

They had opened fire and we would reply to their fire with all our strength. Now there was not and could not be any further conciliation and tactical «agreement» with the Khrushchevites. The great fight had begun. It would be a great and extremely difficult fight, full of sacrifices and repercussions, but we would carry on to the end with confidence and optimism, because we knew that right was on our side, on the side of Marxism-Leninism.

The Bucharest Meeting is an organized plot against Marxism-Leninism; there Khrushchev and company are revealing their faces as rabid revisionists, therefore we are not going to make any concessions to the revisionists even if we remain alone against them all. Our stand was correct and Marxist-Leninist. The black deed organized by Khrushchev had to be defeated.

This is not the place and time to analyse the motives which impelled the Chinese leaders, and to explain whether or not there was something principled in these stands of theirs at that period (I have written about these matters in my diary), but one thing was clear: at that period the Communist Party of China came out as a defender of Marxism-Leninism. The struggle in defence of Marxism-Leninism against revisionism was the only basis which placed us in the one trench with the Communist Party of China.

Khrushchev could not forgive us for what we did to revisionism. But neither could we forgive him for what he had done against Marxism-Leninism, against the revolution, against the Soviet Union, against Albania and the international communist and workers' movement.

In the Albanian communists, the provocations of the Soviet revisionists ran into an insurmountable barricade, an immovable rock. The only treacherous elements who opposed the monolithic unity of our ranks were Liri Belishova and Koço Tashko, who surrendered to the pressure of the Soviets and, in those moments of severe storms and tests, showed their true faces as capitulators, provocateurs and anti-Marxists. As events confirmed, both these elements had long placed themselves in Khrushchev's service, had become his agents and fought to attack our Party and its leadership from within. The Party and the people unmasked them and condemned them with hatred and contempt.

In their efforts to overcome the resistance of the PLA and the Albanian people, the Khrushchevites abandoned every scruple, going so far as to threaten our country with the blockade to starve us. These rabid enemies of socialism and of the Albanian people in particular, refused to supply us with grain at a time when our bread grain reserves would last us only 15 days. When the Albanian people were in danger of being left without bread, Khrushchev preferred to feed the mice and not the Albanians. According to him, there were only two roads for us: either submit or die. This was the cynical logic of this traitor.

The Central Committee called on the Party and people to close their ranks, to safeguard and strengthen their unity and patriotism, to keep cool, to avoid falling for provocations, to be vigilant and fearless. We told the Party that this was the way to ensure the triumph of the correct Marxist-Leninist line which we were following. We told the Party that irrespective of the fact that the enemies were many and powerful, we would triumph.

Now we were preparing for the Moscow Meeting where we foresaw that a fierce struggle would be waged. Our Party had decided that at the coming meeting of the parties it would openly attack the betrayal of the Khrushchevite revisionists who had put themselves in opposition to the Marxist-Leninist theory. We would fight against their traitorous practice and policy, would defend the Soviet Union, Leninism and Stalin, would attack the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and hit out at all the vile, anti-Albanian actions of the Khrushchevites and Khrushchev personally.

Contrary to the desires of the Khrushchevites, our delegation in the commission insisted that the draft-declaration stress that «revisionism is the main danger in the communist movement» and that Yugoslav revisionism should be mentioned specifically as an imperialist agency. Our comrades pointed out emphatically the danger of the thesis that «revisionism has been defeated ideologically» which Khrushchev and company wanted to impose on all the other parties. «Not only does revisionism exist but its horns are growing today,» said Comrade Hysni Kapo.

(To Andropov comrade Enver Hoxha said:)

Tell Khrushchev it is not he who decides whether Albania is or is not a socialist country. The Albanian people and their Marxist-Leninist Party have decided this with their blood.

There was a tense atmosphere when the meeting opened. Not without a purpose, they had put us near the speaker's rostrum so that we would be under the reproving finger of the anti-Marxist. Khrushchevite «prosecutors». But, contrary to their desires, we became the prosecutors and accusers of the renegades and the traitors. They were in the dock. We held our heads high because we were with Marxism-Leninism. Khrushchev held his head in his two hands, when the bombs of our Party burst upon him.

I am not going to dwell on the content of the speech which I delivered on behalf of our Central Committee in Moscow, because it has been published and the views of our Party on the problems which we raised are already known world-wide. I merely want to underline the way in which Khrushchev's followers reacted when they heard our attacks on their boss.

Khrushchev and all those who followed him tried hard to ensure that the endorsed document of an international character would include the whole line of the Khrushchevite revisionists, which distorted the fundamental theses of Marxism-Leninism on the nature of imperialism, the revolution, peaceful coexistence, and so on. However, in the commissions, the delegations of our Party and the Communist Party of China strongly objected to and exposed these distortions. We managed to get many things corrected, many theses of the revisionists were rejected and many others were put correctly, until the final document emerged and was accepted by all the participants in the meeting. It was clear that Khrushchev himself would violate the Declaration of the Moscow Meeting and would accuse us as though it were we who were violating the directives and decisions of that Meeting.

13. THE FINAL ACT

Steel unity in the Party and our people. The Soviets want to occupy the Vlora base. Tense situation at the base. Admiral Kasatonov goes off with his tail between his legs. The enemies dream of changes in our leadership. The 4th Congress of the PLA. Pospyslov and Andropov in Tirana. The Greek and Czechoslovak delegates get the answer that they deserve to their provocations. Khrushchev's envoys to Tirana fail in their mission. Why do they «invite» us to go to Moscow again?! Khrushchev's public attack on the PLA at the 22nd Congress of the CPSU. The final breach: in December 1961 Khrushchev cuts off diplomatic relations with the People's Republic of Albania.

The whole Party and the people were informed of the events and the situation created especially after the Moscow Meeting. We knew that the attacks, provocations and blackmail would be increased and intensified as never before, we were convinced that Khrushchev's anger would be poured upon us, our Party and people, to force us to submit. We spoke to the Party and people with open hearts, explained everything that had occurred, and made the dangerous activity of the Khrushchevite revisionists clear to them. As always, the Party and the people displayed their high level of maturity, their brilliant revolutionary patriotism, their love for and loyalty to the Central Committee of the Party, and the correct line we had always followed. They thoroughly understood the difficult situation we were going through, therefore they strained all their mental and physical energies to the maximum, mobilized themselves totally, further tempered their unity, and the Soviet revisionists found themselves up against a concrete wall. The year 1961 was turned into a year of glorious tests. Everywhere, in every sector, the provocations, insinuations and sabotage of the Khrushchevites were fearlessly and resolutely repelled. Nothing was allowed to pass. Moscow, followed immediately by the capitals of its satellites, began economic pressure on us. As the first serious pressure, the revisionists suspended action on the signed contracts and agreements of every kind, and later tore them up in Hitlerite style. They began to withdraw their experts, thinking that everything in our country would come to a standstill. But they were gravely mistaken.

Khrushchev immediately received not only our reply but also that of the whole Albanian people: in thousands of thousands of telegrams and letters which came to our Central Committee from all corners of the country, from the most varied strata of the population, the communists and our people, while expressing their profound and legitimate indignation at the treacherous actions of Khrushchev, supported the line of the Party with all their strength and pledged that they would defend and apply this correct line to the end in the face of any test or sacrifice.

Then Khrushchev undertook his final act against us - the only thing left undone - unilaterally, he broke off diplomatic relations with the People's Republic of Albania. This was his final desperate gesture of revenge: «Since they did not want to stay under my wing, let the imperialists gobble them up,» he thought. But he was terribly wrong, just as he had been wrong all his life. We gave a resolute reply to his hostility and that of the Khrushchevite lackeys. Heroically and with Marxist-Leninist maturity, the Party of Labour of Albania resisted the attacks of modern revisionism led by Khrushchev and counter-attacked hard, with exemplary solidarity, with great Marxist-Leninist clarity and with indisputable and undeniable arguments and facts.

The revolutionary words and opinions of the Party of Labour of Albania were listened to with respect everywhere in the world. The proletariat saw that this small party was successfully and gloriously defending Marxism-Leninism against the revisionist cliques that were in power. Modern revisionism, headed by Soviet revisionism, was exposed and is still being exposed with revolutionary courage by our Party.

The revisionist Soviet Union has suffered colossal defeats in every field. Its pseudo-Marxist disguise was torn from it and it lost the prestige and authority which had been forged by Lenin, Stalin and the Bolshevik Party which they led. The communists, the revolutionaries and fighters for people's liberation, were not to be deceived by the demagogy of the Khrushchevite revisionists. Our Party has made, is making and always will make its contribution to this revolutionary work.

Thus the relations of socialist Albania with the revisionist Soviet Union came to an end. However, our struggle against the treacherous, fascist, social-imperialist activity of the Khrushchevite and Brezhnev revisionists did not cease and will not cease. We have attacked them and will go on attacking them until they are wiped from the face of the earth, until the joint struggle of the peoples, revolutionaries and Marxist-Leninists all over the world triumphs everywhere, including the Soviet Union.

One day the Soviet people will sternly condemn the Khrushchevites and will honour and love the Albanian people and the Party of Labour of Albania, as they loved us in better times, because our people and Party fought unflinchingly against the Khrushchevites, who are our common enemies.

1976

About the Khrushchevites' defamation of the great Stalin, comrade Enver Hoxha boldly declared:

“One must defend the work of Joseph Stalin. Whoever does not defend this is an opportunist and a scoundrel.”

Comrade Enver condemned the Khrushchevites revision of the fundamental principles and conclusions of Marxism Leninism. This stand was a great inspiration to Marxist-Leninists all over the world who began to organise themselves to fight against Khrushchevite revisionism which had taken hold in the communist parties of their countries. Comrade Enver Hoxha's work “The Khrushchevites - Memoirs”, is an outstanding contribution to the treasury of Marxism-Leninism:

The Party of Labour of Albania fought and fought resolutely for the defense of the purity of Marxist-Leninist ideas. And she is always determined to fight for it. It is against all those who try to distort these ideas and to replace them through bourgeois and revisionist counter-revolutionary ideas, and the party will always be against them.

1981

WHEN THE PARTY WAS BORN ...

Reminiscences

(Excerpts)

In 1981, the famous book of comrade Enver Hoxha "When the Party was born" was published.

The Albanian Academy of Science was established in 1981.

On 25 and 26 February 1981, the 9th Plenum of the CC of the PLA took place directed by the First Secretary of the CC, comrade Enver Hoxha. The important speech of comrade Enver Hoxha is still not published. With regards to contents the 9th Plenum dealt with the Year Plan 1981 and with the calling of the 8th Congress of the PLA in the First of November, 1981.

On April 30, 1981, the 22 km Railway Line - which connects Lac and Lezha - was inaugurated. This Railway Line was created shortly after that between Prrenjas and Pogradec. 17 000 young volunteers took part in these revolutionary mass actions. All this was part of creating a great network of Railwail Lines across the country. All these mass actions were initiated by comrade Enver Hoxha. They rooted in the times of the national liberation war in which the revolutionary youth had participated heroically. Comrade Enver Hoxha said:

"Dressed in rags and barefoot, in snow and rain, but still undaunted and steadfast, they threw themselves into the fight, where he raged most fiercely ... where courage, bravery and self-denial, where organizational skills were required."

In this way the struggle was continued for the construction of socialism. At any time, the mass actions connected the youth with the people, gave them faith and raised communist moral, collectivism, courage and sacrifice in the spirit of Marxism-Leninism.



Enver Hoxha - celebrating First May 1981

As every year, comrade Enver Hoxha celebrated international solidarity on the First May 1981, the day of the struggle of the working people all over the world. In Tirana comrade Enver Hoxha welcomed the participants of the demonstration who were singing the Hymn of the "International".



In summer 1981 comrade Enver Hoxha spent his holidays in Vlora.

On this occasion he visited some historical places, for example the place where comrade Hysni Kapo and his partizans had won a 20 days' battle against the German fascists in 1943. The monument expressed the historical truth that freedom can only be achieved with blood. Comrade Enver Hoxha had a friendly conversation with the old veterans. He, himself, was here in May 1943 to destroy hostile groups within the party - shortly after its foundation. Comrade Enver Hoxha emphasized:

"The Party teaches us to fight. It teaches us how to create a better happy life. The work was always successful."

After that comrade Enver Hoxha participated the celebrations of the Young Pioneers.

On May 6, 1981, comrade Enver Hoxha held a speech at the meeting of the secretaries of the CC of the PLA. At the start of the meeting, Comrade Enver Hoxha asked the comrades of the Committee of Science and Technique a number of questions in connection with the accomplishment of the targets of the 8th Plenum of the CC of the Party, inquired about the organization, functions and competences of the Committee of Science and Technique, about its relations and cooperation with the Academy of Sciences, with the University and with the other scientific institutions of the country, etc. After listening to the answers and the contributions of the comrades in connection with the question on the agenda Comrade Enver Hoxha said among other things:

**THE COMMITTEE OF SCIENCE AND
TECHNIQUE SHOULD EXERT
INFLUENCE ON THE DEVELOPMENT OF
SCIENCE AND ON THE PRACTICAL
APPLICATION OF ITS ACHIEVEMENTS**



Enver Hoxha

- leading the meeting of the Political Bureau of the CC of the PLA

1981

On 15 and 16 June, 1981, the meeting of the 10th Plenum of the CC of the PLA took place - directed by comrade Enver Hoxha. At the end of the meeting, comrade Enver Hoxha delivered an important speech which is still unpublished. It dealt with the tasks of the Party, the organs of the state and working masses in regard of the fulfillment of the 7th Five Year Plan 1981 - 1985. Comrade Enver Hoxha spoke also on the tragic events in Kosova which were caused by the Serbian chauvinists who attacked Albania furiously and defamatorily. Comrade Enver Hoxha took a principled, well considered and objective Marxist-Leninist position in this dangerous conflict

Enver Hoxha on Kosova

The 10th Plenum aproved the correct level-headed attitude of comrade Enver Hoxha ([his speech at youtube](#)). In 1981, comrade Enver Hoxha prepared a military rescue-plan for the people of Kosova.



Enver Hoxha

a basket of red carnations from the people of Kosova

From 25 to 27 June, 1981, the 7th Meeting of the 9th Legislative term of the People's Assembly of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania took place in which comrade Enver Hoxha participated as the First Secretary of the CC of the PLA and as the Chairman of the Presidium of the People's Assembly.

A new Civil Code and the new Civil Procedure Code was necessary to consolidate the development of the whole Systems the socialist relations of production, the elimination of private property and the extension of ownership of state enterprises and agricultural cooperatives. The Albanian civil law does not regulate all economic relations of the country, but only the property relations that exist primarily between the institutions, production plants, agricultural cooperatives and public organizations, between them and the citizens and between the citizens themselves. The civil laws are based on the socialist constitution, the leadership of the PLA, Marxism-Leninism as the dominant ideology, the class struggle as the objective law of the socialist society, the mass line as an active expression of socialist democracy, and the fight against bureaucracy and liberalism. In his book "Imperialism and Revolution" comrade Enver Hoxha wrote that the state monopoly properties represent the properties of the capitalist state, the properties of the ruling bourgeois classes. Even in the countries dominated by the modern revisionists is the ownership, regardless of its appearance, in substance nothing more than capitalist ownership of the revisionist bourgeoisie, which holds the political power in their hands.

For a practical example, in the Civil Code, the state controls the level of rents and protects the citizens from unlawful and overcharged rents.

The new Code of Civil Procedure committed to the party, the state and the mass organizations more responsibilities for participating in the prevention and minimization of civil conflicts within the socialist society. The base of the society, eg. the workers' collectives, have the right to intercede actively in a civil conflict. Court hearings are only held if civil conflicts have not been resolved in advance. Thus, the dictatorship of the proletariat in Albania rejected the trial as obsolete, to be the only and exclusive method for protecting and arbitrating conflicts of personal civil rights. In contrast to the capitalist and revisionist countries, court hearings were closed within shortest time to forestall the misuse of delays for some months or even years. Just as taxes and fees were generally abolished, also court fees in particular were abolished. Comrade Enver Hoxha emphasized that all organs of the state must be organized in such a manner that every body understands his rights and duties within the socialist society, in general, and at his working place or private life in particular. Comrade Enver Hoxha exerted significantly influence on creating, executing and controlling all the socialist laws in Albania.

On July 15, 1981, comrade Enver Hoxha wrote in his Diary some important reflections about the position of Socialist Albania in the international Arena

REFLECTIONS

- published in 1986 in: "The SUPERPOWERS".

In retrospect, these Reflections must be understood as a flaming appeal to defend Socialism in Albania and to resist the pressure of the crisis of the capitalist-revisionist world by all means. Indirectly, it is also a warning to those forces within Albania who tend to give up the fight and to surrender.

Comrade Enver Hoxha defined the contradictions in the present world:

In the world today many contradictions are developing, becoming more profound and increasing in scope and intensity. There are profound and scute contradictions between the superpowers, between the superpowers and the industrialized capitalist countries, between them and other countries of the world with different systems and strange descriptions such as “developing countries”, “undeveloped countries”, “backward countries”, “poor countries”, etc, etc. All these things make the general situation more dangerous. At the same time, the entire capitalist – revisionist world is wallowing in an unprecedented economic, political and moral crisis.

The capitalist and revisionist bourgeoisie are making all-round efforts to unload the catastrophic consequences of this crisis on to the backs of the working masses, who, although it is they who produce the material blessings, are oppressed by the exploiting class.

This tendency of the bourgeoisie makes its class contradictions with the proletariat and the working masses even deeper, widens the gulf between rich and poor, aggravates the inter-imperialist contradictions, those between the “allies” in the capitalist and revisionist groupings, and between the metropolises and the colonial and neo-colonial countries.

Comrade Enver Hoxha defined the present main contradiction as follows:

Today the biggest and most acute contradiction is that between world capitalism and the working class and working masses of all the countries of the world. This contradiction cannot be resolved by the capitalist-revisionist regimes. In this field concrete struggles are being waged for national liberation, for social liberation and for reforms, and there are strikes and demonstrations of a political-economic character. All these things have shaken the foundations of the world capitalist bourgeoisie and are shaking them more and more each day, building up to revolutionary situations and bringing closer the outburst of revolutions.

In the international arena, different forms of struggle are being developed by the two sides. The use of violence, the baton and the capitalist-revisionist demagoguery has increased in frequency and brutality. From its arsenal of weapons, the capitalist bourgeoisie, frightened by the rising tide of revolutions, has made extensive use of the corruption of cliques, both secret and in power, while spreading intellectual and moral degeneration with all the means of propaganda. The bourgeoisie is also using its favourite weapon in times of crisis, terrorism, by means of which it tries to arouse revulsion among the people against the burning desire for liberation from the shackle of capital, and by identifying terrorism with the activity of the genuine revolutionaries it tries to frighten the masses, to turn them against the revolution, to preserve its order of oppression and to emerge without great pain from the grave lethal crisis.

Comrade Enver Hoxha defined the present epoch in the following excellent way:

The present epoch can be called the epoch of the total destabilization of capitalism, of instability in politics, of general insecurity and gloomy and unclear prospects for the future.

The peoples cannot and must not put any trust in the policy of the capitalist-revisionist states and in the social demagoguery of this policy. What the peoples must clearly discern from the concrete facts, through the dense fog with which the superstructure of the capitalist-revisionist regime obscures their vision, distorts the reality, deceives the people and tries to blacken the road of the revolution, is not the external forms of the structure of capitalist-revisionist states, but the content, the essence of this structure, whose hands wield this weapon and which class does it serve.

This is a great, serious problem which is difficult to solve but it is not insurmountable. The forces which oppose the capitalist attack are larger and more powerful. But these forces must be fully awakened, their consciousness tempered; they must be organized on a national and international scale. The device on which the strength of capitalism is based is its “divide and rule” policy. By this means capitalism crushes the weakest and makes him unable to object, binds him with a thousand threads so that he will always be a slave, as an individual, a people or a state, exploits him to the maximum and creates in him the illusion that he is living in a “free, democratic world”, in which he ought to be content with the miserable life he leads, for which he should be grateful to his overlord. The peoples must oppose this device with the glorious slogan of Marx: “Workers of all countries – unite!”, a slogan which has terrified the capitalist bourgeoisie at all times.

In this chaotic and unequal development no progress can be made without struggle and all kinds of clashes between oppressors and oppressed, between exploiters and exploited. The capitalist states vie with one another for supremacy. In most cases, because of their different interests, this contest between them develops in discord. Whoever comes out on top, he who manages to trip his rival and make him fall, who succeeds in making the law and in imposing his policy of domination, he is presented as the cleverest, the most capable politician. However, his ruling position is not everlasting, because he created two kinds of opponents: individuals from his own class who are rivals for ruling positions and contest for capitalist profits, and the great opponent – the working class and the broad working masses who, through every form of class struggle, erode the capitalist order from within, causing splits and bringing defeat after defeat upon it.

Impelled by the lure of illegal gains, its tendency to enslave peoples and engage in unscrupulous speculations at the cost of their blood and sweat, the capitalist world will never find stability in any field of life. Although the great advances achieved are the result of the toil and sweat of the working masses, these are excluded from any benefits from them. The masses have been polarized and as such, are permanent opponents of the inhuman exploitation by the capitalist bourgeoisie.

In this eroding reality of defeats and political-economic instability, the capitalist-revisionist states are trying to find a temporary solution for the most acute and dangerous problems. However, the solutions they offer cannot be satisfactory, because they are onesided in their aim and applied in a terrain which is quaking as a result of the popular upheavals. The great antagonisms within the ranks of capital and those between the bourgeoisie and the working class and the working masses make these anti-popular solutions ineffective.

Seen from this class angle, the present development of the capitalist world leads to a more realistic understanding of the policy which capital follows to prolong its existence, of the methods and tactics of its struggle against the peoples.

Imperialism, social-imperialism and world monopoly capitalism are trying to preserve this absolute hegemony, and to make it permanent in theory and practice.

We think that this hegemony should be combated and destroyed mercilessly. The world must break out of this vicious circle of modern spiritual, economic and political enslavement. This modern enslavement is a cruel deed of the bourgeois capitalist class and the economic and political order which it has created. The working class of every country, the broad masses of the working people who are oppressed and exploited, are the destroyers of this capitalist hegemony. Marxism-Leninism must guide all these masses in the revolution for the new, genuine socialist life without exploiters and exploited.

Socialist Albania is the off-spring of the proletarian revolution. Guided by the Marxist-Leninist theory it is constructing the new society, socialist society. The Party of Labour of Albania has always based itself on the theory of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, has applied this theory without vacillations or deviations, fearlessly and in opposition to and through uncompromising struggle with the capitalist-revisionist ideologies.

Comrade Enver Hoxha answered as follows to the question of the so called "isolation of Albania in this world":

Admidst this chaos by their economic, political and moral crisis, the imperialist and revisionist enemies are making a great ado about the "isolated position" of our country. But is Albania really isolated from the foreign world, as the revisionists of all hues and the various imperialist enemies claim and want it to be ?

The answer to this question depends on the class and political stand-point from which one views this question.

From our state, ideological and political stand-point, the People's Socialist Republic of Albania has never been, is not and will not be isolated. We have diplomatic relations with the majority of the states of the world, and there is nothing to prevent us from having such relations with the remaining ones. With the United States of America and the Soviet Union, however, we do not want such relations. Likewise, we do not have diplomatic relations with Great Britain or the Federal Republic of Germany which have unpaid debts to the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, the former for the stolen gold and the latter for war reparations.

We know that the revisionist states (Yugoslavia, the Soviet Union, etc.) and the capitalist states (the USA, etc.) say that our country is isolated from the world because it has not entered and will not enter their orbits, because it is not economically dependent on them, does not accept credits from or get into debt to them, because it is not politically dependent on them, does not allow its independence and sovereignty to be violated and alters neither its state order nor its Marxist-Leninist ideology. This is how it has been and how it will be in future, too.

In the opinion of some of these states, the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, which pursues an independent policy of its own in all fields and in all circumstances, is something of an anachronism. We can understand this. For them it is an anachronism that our state of the dictatorship of the proletariat is not in crisis, that it is not influenced by the great world crisis, that our state has political stability, that our economy is developing year by year, that there are in all the capitalist-revisionist countries, all over the world.

But we can say that Albania, with the social order it is building, is a case isolated from the various capitalist – revisionist states which are in apolitical, economic and moral crisis. On this count and because of the very good, sound situation in our country, yes, they are right to say that we are “isolated” from them and the evils of their social order and policy.

Therefore, with its principled and independent policy, with its courage and the tangible results it has achieved, small as it is, Albania plays a dual socio-political role in the international arena – on the one hand, it exposes the capitalist-revisionist order and its policy, on the other hand, it plays a constructive, revolutionary role, encouraging the peoples of the world who are fighting for their liberation from the Yoke of capital.

It is by this great role that the question of whether or not socialist Albania is isolated must be judged.

Socialist Albania and the Party of Labour of Albania which leads it, love, respect and defend all the peoples of the world, while they, on their part, in unity with us. Little socialist Albania has become a great example in which the working masses place their hopes. In these conditions and circumstances, then, there can be no talk of isolation of Albania. It is the capitalists, the revisionists, the imperialists and social-imperialists that are isolated, discredited and hated by the peoples. And it is precisely they who try to present the People's Socialist Republic of Albania as isolated, who strive, without success, to distort its correct opinions and its victories, and in the final analysis, this is part of their efforts to isolate the Marxist-Leninist theory itself, to call it outdated and anachronistic. In this context, they try to prove that “socialism can be built”, guided by any kind of reformist, opportunist or even fascist ideology.

In the broad sense, the capitalist-revisionist states are not worried by the existence of a small country and people like ours, but the ideology which guides our people, the genuine socialist society which is being built successfully in our country, where there are no political or economic troubles and a sound culture is being developed, worry them a great deal. That is why the enemies of the peoples try to present the sound moral-political situation of our people in a distorted way and to belittle the great and uninterrupted socio-economic progress of our country.

The struggle of all enemies of all peoples against our socialist country proceeds from the same class positions but with variations in intensity. This comes about because, while it is true that there is unity between capitalists and revisionists as enemies of socialism, there are also differences, conflicts and feuds between them. There are conflicts and feuds also between big and small states, between highly developed, less developed, and totally undeveloped countries.

In the present epoch of the great crisis of capitalism, the capitalist-revisionist states are politically and economically dependent on one another. Of course, the strongest and biggest are less dependent on the weakest and the smallest, but all of them are sensitive to and affected by the contradictions between them which are becoming more and more acute. These contradictions have their political and economic effect and are expressed in the stands of every state, internally and in the international relations between various states.

Not just today, not only now, but ever since they were founded, our Party and proletarian state have declared publicly that they will apply an open, principled foreign-policy, a policy of good neighbourliness and relations with all states on the basis of equality, respect for sovereignty, non-interference in internal affairs and mutual benefit. And they have adhered to this policy without the slightest deviation. However, they have also made it clear to anybody who cares to listen, that such a policy does not mean concessions or giving up the resolute struggle for the defence of our guiding ideology, Marxism-Leninism, the struggle against greedy imperialism and capitalism, or support for the just struggles of the world proletariat for social liberation and the national liberation struggles of the peoples against colonialism and neo-colonialism.

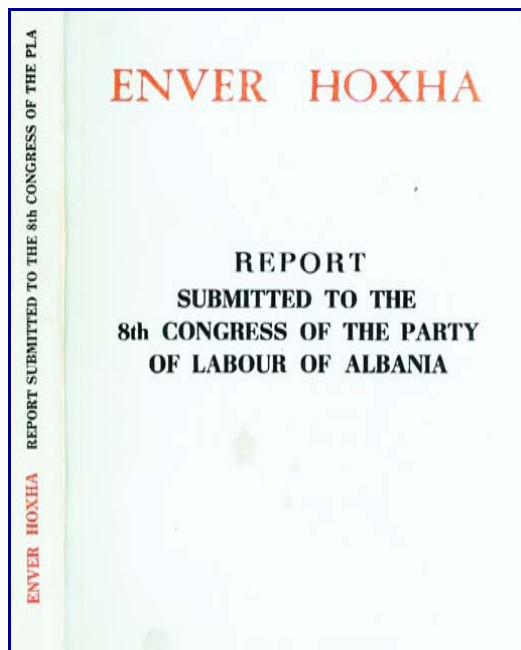
The Party of Labour of Albania is a strong party not because of the number of its members, but because of the Marxist-Leninist ideology which inspires and guides it.

We Albanian communists are conscious of the difficulties we encounter and will encounter on our road, but at the same time, we are fully convinced that we shall overcome them, because we are on the right road.

Enver Hoxha taught to the peoples, and especially to the Albanian people which

"have understood that their independence and the victories achieved must be defended as they were won, arms in hand, even with their blood if need be, and must be further consolidated with their own strength and resources, through struggle and efforts. Some think that this cannot be done, that loans and credits from the capitalists and revisionists are indispensable. This is not true. When true freedom and independence are understood correctly by a people and developed correctly by their leadership, they bring well-being, develop them and make them conscious of their own destiny. Foreign loans and credits have never been and are not in the interests of the peoples. For them the loans and credits are a noose around their necks."

The restoration of capitalism in the Socialist Albania is a bitter lesson for the Albanian people, for the world proletariat and for all peoples of the world. Ramiz Alia and his Clique trampled the socialist constitution under foot namely to violate the prohibition of foreign loans and credits. The traitors surrendered to the imperialists and they betrayed comrade Enver Hoxha and his lessons. Ramiz Alia became a lackey of the imperialists and helped them to put the noose around the neck of the Albanian people.



Report to the 8th Congress of the PLA

November 1, 1981

* * *

The 8th Congress of the PLA

November 1981



Enver Hoxha - report to the 8th Congress of the PLA

November 1981

The main event of the Year 1981 was the 8th Congress of the PLA and the report delivered by comrade Enver Hoxha. The 8th Congress of the PLA was an ideological-political orientation for the defense and consolidation of the system of the dictatorship of the proletariat. While the Marxist-Leninist ideology, the perspectives of the construction of socialism, and the unity of the Marxist-Leninist World Movement against Chinese revisionism were raised on a high level by the 7th Congress, the 8th Congress can be characterized by consolidating the socialist achievements by means of overcoming weaknesses and mistakes, by paying increasingly attention to the growing inner and outer enemies, by raising the consciousness for a better defense of the country against growing pressure of the capitalist-revisionist world, and by increasing class-struggle for strengthening the dictatorship of the proletariat and consolidating the economical basis of socialism's construction. In his report comrade Enver Hoxha spoke very openly about all the weaknesses which could have earnest existential consequences if they would not be eliminated. In truth he openly attacked the upcoming influence of revisionist appearances. In his report Comrade Enver Hoxha struggled already against those forces who betrayed him after his death and who destroyed socialist Albania.



Enver Hoxha - delivering the closing speech

In his closing address at the 8th Congress of the PLA Enver Hoxha said:

The Albanian people will neither spare efforts nor sweat because it is convinced that the only way to maintain and consolidate the victory of the revolution, to secure the present, and to guarantee the future, is that the socialist construction makes headway.

The Political Bureau rejected the report of the spy Mehmet Shehu to the 8th Congress because of eclatant mistakes.

If we want to explain the successive development of the restoration of capitalism in Albania after the death of Comrade Enver Hoxha, then we must study accurately the report to the 8th Congress of the PLA, which Comrade Enver Hoxha made on 1 November 1981 - ie 3 ½ years before his death. This was his last report, and it is no coincidence that he quoted the reports of Comrade Stalin [the one to the XVII Congress of the CPSU (B) (January 26 1934) and the other to the XVIII. Party (10 March 1939)]. All these reports of Stalin and Enver Hoxha were a declaration of war against the growing threat of revisionism, the bureaucratization within the own ranks of party and state, the degeneration of socialism and the infiltration of the dictatorship of the proletariat. They were a warning appeals for the intensification of the class struggle of the working class to defend their dictatorship. In his report comrade Enver Hoxha quoted Stalin's report to the XVII Congress of the CPSU (B) [1934]:

"A well-organised check on the fulfilment of decisions is the searchlight which helps to reveal how the apparatus is functioning at any moment and to bring bureaucrats and red-tapists into the light of day." (Stalin Works, Volume 13, Albanian edition, page 330).

And comrade Enver Hoxha quoted Stalin's report to the XVIII Congress of the CPSU (B) [1939]:

"It must be accepted as an axiom that the higher the political level and the Marxist-Leninist knowledge of the workers in any branch of state Party work the better and more fruitful will be the work itself, and the more effective the results of the work; and, vice versa, the lower the political level of the workers, and the less they are imbued with the knowledge of Marxism-Leninism, the greater will be the likelihood of disruption and failure in the work, of the workers themselves becoming shallow and deteriorating into paltry plodders, of their degenerating altogether." (Stalin, Works, Volume 14, German edition, page 219)

In the following excerpts of the report to the 8th Congress of the PLA is extensively and concretely explained why Enver Hoxha quoted Comrade Stalin - overcoming weaknesses and mistakes which could lead to degeneration of socialism in case if they are not corrected thoroughly and in time:

The work of the Party is, first of all, work with people, work for their education, enlightenment, mobilization and organization. This must never be forgotten, otherwise the Party is diverted from its main task and function as a leader, is transformed into an operative organism and assumes state functions. This constitutes a great danger for a party in power. (Selected Works, Volume 6, pages 343-344, English edition).

We often repeat that we have been obliged to march on untrodden paths which we have been obliged to seek and create. However, this cannot be achieved without deep knowledge of the Marxist-Leninist theory and without scientific study and generalization of the revolutionary practice of the communists and the working masses. Studies ... help to combat manifestations of routine, formalism and superficiality. (Selected Works, Volume 6, pages 345-346, English edition).

In practice there are instances when the work of the Party is conceived narrowly. Some party organs and basic organizations forget the perspective, do not penetrate below the surface of problems and base themselves only on what they have learned from practice, without confronting this with advanced experience and thinking, with the changes that have taken place in the life of the country and the people. In most instances of failure to fulfil economic plans or shortcomings in the work of certain enterprises, agricultural cooperatives or some district, such manifestations are the cause. (Selected Works, Volume 6, page 345, English edition).



Enver Hoxha on the 8th Congress of the PLA

November 1981

The work of the Party is not only agitation and propaganda to enlighten and convince people, but also the work of organization and mobilization to implement the line and directives of the Party. (Selected Works, Volume 6, page 346, English edition).

In this or that sector still the problems remain unsolved and the situation does not change. (ibidem, pages 346 - 347)

Experience has shown that problems are solved and tasks fulfilled , not just by appeals to the conscience of the communists and the workers, but also when the work to carry out tasks and convince people is accompanied by all - round measures, by organization and concrete guidance, check-up and calling to account. The ideo-political and technical-organizational measures constitute a dialectical unity; they educate, mobilize and impel people to revolutionary actions.

Perfection of the vanguard role of the communists has been the main task of the organs and basic organizations of the Party and remains so for the future. In the present conditions especially, it is the duty of the communists to increase their demands on themselves to uphold this lofty title, to fight any alien manifestation in themselves and in others, to be advanced people in every direction. The communists must be outstanding for their revolutionary determination and active participation in the daily struggle for the construction of socialism and the defence of the Homeland, must be always on the most difficult and important front of the work and struggle, must be talented organizers and leaders who act with responsibility for the implementation of the line of the Party. To be a communist and a revolutionary means you must undertake and accomplish great tasks, must not mark time or be content with the normal rates, but fight for rapid development on all fronts, and always take the side of the new and defend it. (ibidem, page 347)

Among some party organizations, some cadres and party members in enterprises, agricultural cooperatives, central departments and institutions, it is necessary to combat manifestations of waiting for instructions, procrastination and hesitation, lack of initiative to solve problems which are within their competences.

Methods of work, management and organization are not prescribed once and for all and unalterable. Life progresses, our socialist society is developing ceaselessly, the conditions change. This development requires us to be creative and inventive, to find new, more flexible and varied forms of work, and to continually renew and enrich them so that they respond better to the requirements of the time. (ibidem, page 348)

Actions serve to combat bureaucratic and technocratic methods, procrastination, personal ease and self-satisfaction. There can be no struggle and efforts, no revolutionary actions for the solution of problems without a sense of responsibility. The tasks are carried out by working and struggling with devotion and sacrifice, by putting our shoulder to the wheel and performing our duties to the last detail, with good quality and high efficiency. (ibidem, page 349)

Organizations, communists and cadres can be found who do not struggle persistently to overcome difficulties and obstacles and to fulfil the tasks. Manifestations of indifference and making excuses, of covering up shortcomings and weaknesses with general statements are nothing but a reflection of the lack of a sense of responsibility.

There are still manifestations of liberalism and sentimentality, a spirit of justification and signs that check-up is underrated, as well as formalism and superficiality in exercising it. Sometimes check-up and calling to account are weak because the tasks and decisions have been set out only in general terms and, as a consequence, cannot be controlled. (ibidem, page 350)

Every party member or member of some party forum, regardless of his post and function, must render full account himself, and demand that others do the same, on his work to carry out the line and directives of the Party, the decisions of the basic organization and state duties. This is achieved when the party members engage in self-criticism courageously and without hesitation, as well as in criticism of anybody who does not fulfil his task, when they wage a determined struggle against fear, vengeance and petty-bourgeois indifference. A self-critical attitude towards shortcomings, the courage of the party members to criticize and call to account are an example and great source of inspiration for all the working masses. (ibidem, pages 350-351)

It is the duty of the organs and organizations of the Party to invigorate and strengthen the party control and the state control, the worker and mass control, and see that they are exercised consistently in a combined way. Control from above, parallel control or control from below must necessarily be more active, must be accompanied with concrete help, must open perspectives and teach people how to organize their work, how to mobilize themselves and cope with difficulties for the fulfilment of tasks. (ibidem, page 351)

Manifestations of formalism and bureaucracy, any tendency to be in order with figures and percentages, should be resolutely combated.

Nobody should be admitted to the Party simply because he is the son of a worker, peasant or party member, on account of the merits of his father or mother, but on account of his own personal merits, qualities and abilities.

Manifestations as underestimation of the probation period of the candidate, or failure to rigorously apply the rules for performing the probation period, which are sometimes seen, should be combated. (ibidem, page 353)

Having in mind the analysis of the process of degeneration of the PLA after the death of comrade Enver Hoxha, it should not be unmentioned that the following important lessons in this report of comrade Enver Hoxha are not included in the Selected Works Volume 6 (which was published in 1987 - thus two years after the death of comrade Enver Hoxha !).

Those specialists with various functions must remain creative and not turn into mere administrative people. The Central Committee has drawn attention to the fact that (parallel to the struggle against conservatism, sectarianism and technocracy) we must struggle against the formal implementation of this orientation, which aims to mechanically maintain some specified proportions at the expense of quality. We must not allow incompetent people to remain at a post on which they do not get a grip. It is absolutely necessary that each passionate, responsible and serious cadre cares about a successor. The cadres must arm themselves continually with the ideology of the party, to implement the party-line, comply with the laws of the state and actively participate in the class struggle. Only this way, the phenomena of bureaucracy and liberalism, intellectualism and technocracy are successfully to fight. Only this way, the communist ideology and the communist character of the cadres are to be strengthened.

The system of the dictatorship of the proletariat is based on democratic centralism. This is a whole complex of organs and organisms with different functions, powers and responsibilities. The problem is that this whole system is continuously to be consolidated. It must function in a synchronized manner: Every individual must carefully perform his duties and that in accordance with the whole party, where the comrades, all together, implement the objectives and program of the party. All levers of the party are led by the party, not only in general, but also by each party organ. Every little weakening of the leading role of the party in each chain link would cause serious consequences. The bourgeoisie and the modern revisionists try to undermine the system of the dictatorship of the proletariat in that they decouple the levers of the party, transforming them into independent organizations and place them parallel to and against the party. The party criticizes as before those practices as foreign and harmful, if a party organ or a party organization is trying to put one bureaucratic guardianship over the levers of party for the purpose to dictate everything and to stifle the self-activity of the party's levers. The specifics of each party organizations should not be made absolute, because all are working and fighting for the same goal.

In the organs of state power and central state administration and at the base, the party organizations, their cadres and toilers have persistently to fight against any lack of responsibility, against various sloppiness, against getting bogged down in daily minutiae, against lack of initiative and self-activity, against symptoms of servility, conformity or vanity, against narrow sectoral and local settings, against bungling in thinking and acting. This fight is only successful, if it is guided both by education but also by organizing strict discipline and control.

The boundless loyalty of our Party to the immortal doctrine of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, its ability to apply this doctrine in a creative manner, in conformity with the conditions of the country and the complicated international circumstances, its determination to defend the purity of the principles of this doctrine from the attacks and distortions of many enemies, internal and external, have been and remain the fundamental basis of all the successes and victories of our people. The whole preoccupation of the Party has been to ensure that every step on the road of the revolution and the construction of socialism should be well considered, that the foundations of the new socialist society should be such as to guarantee its ceaseless development towards progress, and that the waves and storms of the hostile imperialist-revisionist encirclement should be faced and overcome. This is why the revolution and the socialist construction in our country have known no zigzags and reverses, but have gone consistently ahead and have always scored victories. The example of Albania is a new experience in the history of the dictatorship of the proletariat and constitutes a valuable contribution to the theory and practice of socialism and Marxism-Leninism. (ibidem, page 355)

The more secure the socialist and communist future of our country will be.

The strengthening of convictions about socialism, about its vitality and superiorities, assumes special importance in the present conditions when socialism has been undermined in many countries and when the imperialists, the bourgeoisie and the revisionists have launched a frenzied campaign against socialism in order to disparage the revolutionary ideals, to sow the seed of doubt and uncertainty about the socialist future of mankind. It is no accident that the main thrust of this struggle has been aimed against our triumphant doctrine, Marxism-Leninism, without which there is and can be no genuine socialism. (ibidem, page 356)

Our Party, state and people are fighting single-handed, face to face against a colossal enemy force, against the capitalist and revisionist world which encircles us. Our people must never underrate or forget the dangers with which our socialist society is threatened from the great, all-round political, economic, ideological and military pressure of this world. Our historic duty, national and international, is to be all on the alert, vigilant and ready to cope with any situation, to defend the victories achieved and to press on with the revolution and our socialist construction. We must counter the dangerous diversionist activity of the enemies of socialism with our determination and courage, with the steel unity of the Party and the people, with untiring work to develop and strengthen the economy and the defence of the country. Above all, in order to defend socialism and ensure that it always forges confidently ahead, it is essential to continuously strengthen the healthy and profound convictions about socialism, as the highest social order to which the future inevitably belongs. (ibidem, page 357)

Theoretical uplift is an indispensable condition to combat manifestations of empiricism and practicism. The fact is that there are communists and cadres who make little effort to master theory, who have a narrow understanding of the problems and tasks which are presented and the directives and orientations which are given, who see them in a simplistic manner and do not go deeply into their ideopolitical content, into their theoretical aspect.

The shortcomings in the general theoretical formation also lead inevitably to subjective and volitive concepts and actions which are contrary to the requirements of objective laws, violate the scientific management of affairs, impede and distort the processes of socio-economic development and harm the education of people. We come across such manifestations on many occasions, but they are more obvious and harmful especially in the planning, organization and the management of the economy.

It is true that socialist society is a society which is built in a conscious manner, but this is not done according to the subjective will and desires of people. In socialism, too, development takes place according to laws which have an objective character. The peculiarity of socialism lies in the recognition and conscious implementation of these laws in conformity with the aims of the Party and the socialist state. Herein lies one of the great superiorities of the socialist order, which ensures harmonious and rapid development of the economy and culture in favour of the working masses. (ibidem, page 359)

Apart from the educational work, it is properly supported with economic, organizational and administrative measures. Those instances when problems are treated in a one-sided way, when the causes of shortcomings and weaknesses are sought only in the ideo-political work or in the method and style of leadership, when it is thought that the state of affairs can be changed and improved with words and meetings, without concrete actions and measures, are manifestations of subjectivism. (ibidem, page 361)

The dangers which threaten socialism from the separation of the state organs and cadres from the masses, from the development of bureaucracy in the apparatuses, etc., have long been made clear by the Party. It has stressed that the struggle against such manifestations and distortions must be waged continuously, without allowing them to build up and become firmly established. In practice, however, manifestations of one-sidedness and formalism are encountered in the understanding and implementation of the democracy of the masses and the relations of cadres with the masses. There are instances when the administrative organs place themselves above the elected organs, when certain cadres do not maintain close contacts with the people or consult them only formally. Sometimes the assemblies of the agricultural cooperatives and other organizations of the masses are not taken into account at all or insufficiently taken into account, sometimes the norms established about rendering account to the masses, not only by the elected cadres but also by the appointed cadres, are not respected, and so on. (ibidem, page 363)

In the implementation of the line of the masses any simplification and formal treatment of it must be avoided.

It is impermissible to overwhelm people with fruitless meetings over trifling matters allegedly in the name of the implementation of the line of the masses. Meetings at which the problems causing concern are not solved, which do not arrive at conclusions about concrete measures to change the situation, have no value at all. Likewise, it is impermissible that the line of the masses should be used as a smokescreen to cover up lack of responsibility, shortcomings in the organization and direction of work, and failure to exercise competences and apply the laws and rules established.

Enlivenment and activation of the control by the masses from below, including the groups of direct worker and peasant control, which should be centred more on the control over the administration of socialist property, the activity of administrative organs, as well as in the field of services for the people and the fulfilment of their needs, must be the object of continuous attention from the Party and the organizations of the masses.

It is particularly important to understand properly that the control by the masses from below must not be limited and must not be reduced to just one form of it, that of the groups of the worker and peasant control; it must be exercised much more extensively and in the most varied forms by rousing the broad masses of the working people and inculcating in them the idea that they are the masters of the country, who must have their say about everything and everyone. At the same time, the Party has stressed that the groups of the worker and peasant control cannot and must not replace the control by the party organizations, the state organs or the organizations of the masses.

There is a need for understanding and implementing socialist democracy and the role of the masses properly, for more profound study of them, so that they are constantly perfected. The aim is to ensure that the process of the construction of socialism is never transformed into a bureaucratic-administrative process, but is always a living, creative work of the broad working masses, under the leadership of the Party. The education of the new man is one of the greatest victories of socialism and one of the fundamental guarantees for its uninterrupted development.(ibidem, pages 364-365)

The struggle against the petty-bourgeois mentality and outlook, which has deep roots in our country, has been and remains a major ideological problem. It is true that the great social and economic changes which have been carried out, as well as the all-round work of the Party for the communist education of the working people, have dealt heavy blows to the petty-bourgeois psychology and shaken it to its foundations. Nevertheless, although its sphere of operation has been drastically reduced, we still encounter petty-bourgeois outlooks, attitudes and actions among various strata of the population. The petty bourgeois concepts and tendencies are a great evil, because they not only hamper the communist education of the people, not only inhibit their active participation in the socialist construction of the country, but also become the cause of all sorts of vacillations, serve as the basis for the spread of the bourgeois ideology and for undermining the socialist order itself. (ibidem, page 366)

The large masses of young people who are to enter social production and other sectors and who, despite their readiness and enthusiasm to work and create on behalf of socialism, still have not formed the habits of work and have not been hardened to withstand the difficulties of life.

These factors, as well as the weaknesses in the work of leadership, organization and education by the organizations of the Party and those of the masses, the organs of the state and the economy, account for the alien attitudes towards work and socialist property, which are seen. (ibidem, page 367)

The placing of the general interest above the interests of the group and the individual, the interests of the future above those of the moment, the fundamental interests of the state above departmental and local interests, has run right through all the activity of our Party and state for the construction and the defence of socialism. This remains the guarantee that we shall always continue to advance on the right Marxist-Leninist course, permitting no deviations from the theory and practice of the construction of socialism.

In many cases, however, personal interest is still a very compelling force, and this is expressed in the tendencies to take from society more than one contributes, to pursue quantity to the detriment of quality, etc.

There is no doubt that the existence of various distinctions, such as those between town and countryside, the differences in incomes between members of our society, as well as the discrepancies which emerge between the growing demands of the working masses and the real possibilities for their fulfilment, have their influence in keeping such phenomena alive. But these factors cannot justify the various manifestations of placing personal interest above the general interest. In our socialist society all the possibilities exist to reduce the alien phenomena more and more through strengthening the educational work among the masses, developing production and perfecting the economic relations and the rigorous implementation of the laws of the state.

This is linked, first of all, with the fact that in socialism the general interest is not contrary to the personal interests of the working people. When we speak about the priority of the general interest, this by no means implies that personal interests are ignored. In socialism the general interest is realized not as an aim in itself, but in order to serve the fulfilment of the legitimate needs of the working people, the well-being of the people and the strengthening of the defence capacity of the Homeland.

The line of the Party is applied correctly and consistently when the preoccupation with economic problems and the care for the general interest are never divorced from concern about the individual, from care to fulfil his material and spiritual demands.

A major problem, not only economic, but also ideological and social, is the harmonization of the interests of the cooperativist property fairly with the general interests of society. The Party must combat both the tendencies, which are sometimes seen, to isolation within the framework of the interests of the group, regarding them as something divorced from the interests of society as a whole, and those, which allegedly on behalf of the general interest, harm the interests of the cooperative.

This problem has to do with the relations between the state and the agricultural cooperatives, as well as with the process of the transformation of the property of the group into property of the entire people. The cooperativist property is of the same type as the state property. Both are socialist property, but the property of the group is a lower stage of the socialization of property. Through wideranging and well-considered educational work the Party must make clear to the cooperativist peasantry the transitional character of the property of the group, as well as the ways for its transformation into property of the entire people. In our country, the process of the transformation of the property of the group into property of the whole society has begun and will be accelerated in the future.

However, we must proceed on this course step by step, as the objective and subjective conditions are created, taking into account and respecting the interests stemming from the property of the group.

The propaganda of the Party must deal more extensively and profoundly with the unified character of our economy and the factors which strengthen this character.

In this context it is necessary to wage a determined struggle against the pursuit of narrow departmental, local or enterprise interests. The obstacles raised to the specialization, concentration and cooperation of production, as well as the cases of keeping something in reserve in the planning of production, productivity and reduction of costs, or the exaggerated demands for investments, labour forces, etc., are manifestations of narrow interests, which impede the development of the economy and harm the general interests of the state and society.

In the conditions when the new has become dominant in our country, the phenomena of petty-bourgeois psychology, the remnants from the past, become more and more discordant and constitute a serious obstacle to our socialist course.

The peculiarity of these remnants is that they are extremely resistant and continue to exist even though the conditions which gave birth to them have been completely changed; they assume «new» forms, camouflage themselves under socialist norms and revive wherever they find suitable terrain. Certain outdated customs and practices, in particular, should attract our attention, because although they have been hard hit, they still crop up in the way of life, in family relations, in the stand towards women, etc. The Party and its levers must work to strengthen and consolidate the socialist principles and concepts, the proletarian ideology and morality, and to ensure that the spirit of great ideological actions and movements of the masses, based on the struggle to eradicate all the old hangovers and affirm the new socialist norms and customs, is always kept ablaze.

In our struggle on the ideological front we should never for a moment forget that the remnants of the past are intertwined with the degenerating influences of the imperialist-revisionist encirclement, which, although advertised as «modern» or «progressive», in essence, are just as old, if not older, and extremely dangerous.

Wide-ranging ideological aggression, intended to denigrate the reality of socialist Albania and corrupt people's minds, is being directed against our country. The Party and its levers must become powerful, insuperable barriers to this aggression and its influence on our people.

They must temper the ideological unity of the people and increase their vigilance and struggle against liberalism and all alien manifestations, so that no breaches, no situations of relaxation or euphoria are permitted, so that the communists, the cadres and all the working people always uphold the socialist principles and norms, the proletarian ideology and morality.

The struggle for the communist education of the working people against the remnants and manifestations of alien ideologies, old and new, constitutes the broadest and most complex front of the class struggle which is going on in our country. This struggle becomes especially important and acute in the present conditions when our country is forging ahead in the construction of socialism, relying entirely on its own forces, when the struggle between socialism and capitalism, Marxism-Leninism and revisionism in the international arena has become extremely severe and when the imperialist-revisionist encirclement and its pressure on our country have become more ferocious.

The Party must work untiringly to ensure that the communists, the people and the younger generations are educated continuously in the spirit of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the class struggle, are always vigilant and ready to defend socialism from any enemy or danger, and struggle in their own conscience, in the ranks of the Party and among the people, against everything which runs counter to the spirit and principles of socialism.

To wage the class struggle correctly means to apply the Marxist-Leninist line of the Party correctly, to accept the principles of socialism consciously and with profound conviction, and to work and fight at all times for the good of the people and the Homeland, to safeguard and defend socialism. This means, also, that this struggle must be waged without allowing opportunist or sectarian deviations to the right or the left, which are equally dangerous and fraught with grave consequences for the Party, the unity of the people and socialist society.

Only by waging the class struggle correctly and without deviations, with the large-scale participation of the working masses led by the Party, will the present be built always correctly and rest on sound foundations, and the future of the Homeland and socialism be secure. (ibidem, pages 369-373)

Concerning the international situation, comrade Enver Hoxha stated in his report:

Viewed as a whole, the present international situation is disturbed, complicated and very tense. Major political and social forces confront one another: on the one side, imperialism, capitalism and reaction, the bearers of oppression, exploitation and war, and on the other side, the peoples, the revolutionaries and the democrats, who are struggling for national and social liberation and the emancipation of mankind. This large-scale, profound and all - round confrontation, which is a reflection of stern class clashes and has included all the continents without exception, has further exacerbated all the contradictions and the grave crisis which has swept the capitalist world today.

Everything indicates that the present situation in the world could give rise to general and local wars, just as it may give rise to liberation wars and revolution. The development of events will show whether imperialism will be able to lead the world to a new catastrophe or whether the peoples will prevent the war and save mankind.

In this situation, the peoples' war and the revolution are on the agenda, not only as aspirations and immediate tasks for liberation from capitalist oppression and the imperialist yoke, but also as historical necessities to defeat the warmongering plans of imperialism and avert a new general war. (ibidem, page 375)

American imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism are contesting with one another, are competing and manoeuvring to carry out aggressions and occupy other countries. In many regions of the world the struggle between the two imperialist superpowers, the United States of America and the Soviet Union, not excluding imperialist China and other capitalist powers, has assumed new, major proportions.

Each of these powers is striving to achieve economic, political and military superiority over the other and to capture new strategic positions. Although the flames of world war are not blazing yet, the local fires which have broken out and the dangerous hotbeds which have already been created may turn into a great conflagration of imperialist world war. The Middle East, and Indochina once again, are very clear evidence of this. This rivalry, this superpower policy, further complicates the situations and leads to tension with dangerous consequences in all world relations. (ibidem, page 376)

The interests of the superpowers and those of the peoples are not in accord and do not coincide at any time or in any instance. For imperialism to exist the peoples must be enslaved, for the peoples to be liberated imperialism must be destroyed.

That policy of reactionary classes which, to protect their own power and to deceive the masses, rely on one or the other imperialist state, presenting the one as good and the other as bad, the one as a supporter of the peoples and the other as their enemy, the one as the champion of peace and the other as a warmonger, is very dangerous and must be fought to the end. The superpowers, individually and jointly, are the most ferocious enemies of the freedom and independence of the peoples, the protectors and guarantors of reactionary regimes, supporters of national bondage to foreigners and instigators of feuds and conflicts between nations. Their policy contains the direct danger that mankind is hurled into a third world war.

Therefore, now as in the past, the struggle of all revolutionary, progressive and democratic forces to expose and foil the predatory and enslaving plans of imperialist superpowers is an historic necessity, a condition and a duty for the defence of the freedom and sovereignty of the peoples, for the triumph of the revolution, for averting the war and ensuring peace. (ibidem, pages 377-378)

After these general statement comrade Enver Hoxha unmasked the American imperialism in particular. Then he deals with the Sovjet social-imperialism and the consequences of the world capitalist crisis on all continents and the increasing class struggle of the proletariat and the liberation struggle of the oppressed and exploited peoples. Especially the report dealt with the situation in the Balkan, thus the Kosova-conflict.

The next chapter (V) deals with the struggle against revisionism.

In the period since the 7th Congress, our Party, standing loyal as ever to Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, has continued the struggle against modern revisionism uninterruptedly. The ideological and political criticism against Khrushchevite, Chinese, Yugoslav and West-European revisionism has been made more profound. The historical and socio-economic conditions of the birth and spread of these trends have been brought out more clearly, and the process of degeneration of those communist parties which took the course of revisionism, their mistakes and concessions in strategy and tactics, have been analysed more extensively. The connection of modern revisionism with the strategy which imperialism adopted after the Second World War for the destruction of socialism and the suppression of the revolution and the peoples' liberation movement, has been proved in the light of facts from the past and the present.

These analyses and conclusions have helped the Party to recognize more clearly the dangers which threaten socialism and the dictatorship of the proletariat in our country from revisionism and to take most effective and appropriate measures to avert these dangers. They have also helped in the education of the communists and the masses, the enhancement of their theoretical level and the tempering of their revolutionary consciousness. The more profound knowledge of the strategy and tactics of imperialism and revisionism have made our struggle in defence of the cause of the proletariat and the peoples even more effective.

The correctness of the course which our Party chose right from the start to oppose revisionism and fight it to the end has been and is being proved more and more each day by the political degeneration and the profound ideological crisis of modern revisionism, by the grave economic situation and the impasse in which the revisionist parties and the countries where they are in power have landed.

When our Party began the struggle against Khrushchevite revisionism, the communist parties which made common cause with Khrushchev looked, more or less, like a united bloc with a single line, which was that of the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. Today, however, 20 years later, they are split and divided into many trends and factions, are fighting and clashing with one another and have been overwhelmed by bourgeois nationalism and social-democratic opportunism.

These former communist parties have been transformed either into genuine parties of the new bourgeoisie ruling in the countries where the revisionists are in power, or into component parts of the structures of the bourgeois state, as in the old capitalist countries. The crisis of modern revisionism is a direct expression of the crisis of capitalism and the bourgeois ideology in general.

The revisionist betrayal and the restoration of capitalism in a series of former socialist countries have created great confusion about the problem of socialism, which is the nub of the ideological struggle going on in the world today. The problem is that the revisionists present the capitalist society re-established in their countries as a pure socialist society, as «real socialism», and as «developed», or moreover «very highly developed» socialism. The fact that many parties and different political forces, which are far removed from scientific socialism, talk about socialism, as well as the efforts which the bourgeoisie and its propaganda make to distort the true socialist ideals and to alienate the masses from the struggle for the triumph of these ideals add even more to this confusion. Clarity on this question, the establishment of a clearcut dividing line between genuine socialism and pseudosocialism, is of capital importance to waging the struggle of the working class and the working masses successfully.

If it does not have a clear concept of socialist society, if it does not abide by its principles and universal laws, the revolution stops half-way. The revolution may indeed be carried out, but when it lacks the genuine socialist perspective it can deviate, and the struggle and sacrifices made for its triumph will be in vain. (ibidem, pages 422-423)

After this general statement the different branches of revisionism were unmasked - starting with the first revisionism at power - Yugoslavia.

The first trend of revisionism in power, which set itself the task of undermining socialism, was Yugoslav revisionism, which emerged at a key moment of the struggle between socialism and imperialism. (ibidem, page 423)

The conflict with the Information Bureau was a result of contradictions between the liberal-opportunist views of the Yugoslav leadership and the Marxist-Leninist views on the construction of the socialist state and socialist society. Tito and his associates gave to their opposition to the Marxist-Leninist theory the colour of opposition, first, towards Stalin, and later, towards the Soviet socialist system. (ibidem, page 424)

The system of «self-administration» would not have lasted long had it not been assisted by two factors: the anti-Sovietism of the Yugoslav leadership, which was nothing but its anti-Marxism and anti-Leninism through which it ensured the political support of the whole of world reaction, and the all-round economic support by means of large credits from capitalist countries. Nevertheless, these two factors could not rescue this anti-socialist system. On the contrary, they further weakened it and have driven it towards economic and political bankruptcy. (ibidem, page 430)

In fact this was not a new system. It was neither socialist nor a Yugoslav creation. It originated from Proudhonism, from Bakunin and Kropotkin's anarchism, that Marx in his time, and later Lenin, and still later Stalin, had thoroughly exposed. (ibidem, page 425)

Soviet revisionism:

Soviet revisionism has been and still is the most dangerous current of modern revisionism. More than any other variant of revisionism, it retains its socialist disguise and Leninist phraseology in order to cover up the presentday capitalist reality of the Soviet Union and its aggressive imperialist foreign policy. It is a revisionism which has seized power in a state which is a great power and has ample means and possibilities to exert its influence in the world, to operate in many directions and on a large scale.(ibidem, page 431)

Right from the start, the Khrushchev group set itself as its main task to liquidate the dictatorship of the proletariat, to undermine the foundations of socialist society, to set the Soviet Union on the capitalist road and turn it into an imperialist superpower. Now we can all see this great counter-revolutionary transformation which has occurred in the Soviet Union. Only the bourgeoisie and imperialism advertise it as a communist country. By presenting the present-day capitalist Soviet Union as a socialist country, they want to discredit Marxism-Leninism and genuine socialism.

Khrushchevite revisionism is the ideology and policy of state capitalism which dominates the whole life of the country. The Soviet Union's return to capitalism could not fail to have its own special features, and the capitalist order there could not fail to assume special forms. These special features and forms are determined by the fact that capitalism in that country was re-established as a result of the overthrow of socialism, as a result of a retrogressive process, unlike the capitalism of the classical type which follows the overthrow of the feudal order, as a progressive process.

The fundamental peculiarity of this type of capitalism is that here many socialist forms of property, organization and management are retained, but their content has changed radically. Today in the Soviet Union the means of production are, in fact, state capitalist, or collective capitalist property, because they are used in the interest of the new bourgeois class which is in power, and because it is precisely this class which appropriates the labour of workers and peasants. The different groups of the new bourgeoisie appropriate the surplus value created by the workers and peasants. (ibidem, page 432)

In order to open the way to the restoration of capitalism, the Khrushchevite revisionists attacked the fundamental theses of the Marxist-Leninist theory about commodity production and the operation of the law of value in socialism. In theory and practice they identified socialist commodity production with capitalist production. (ibidem, page 433)

In the Soviet Union, bureaucratic centralism of the monopolist type coexists with extensive economic liberalism at the base. The image is given of a planned management of the economy, whereas in practice the economic laws and categories of the capitalist mode of production have free fields of action. (ibidem, page 433)

The doors have been flung open to foreign monopoly capital, and the black market, speculation, embezzlements, bribery and fraud are rife. (ibidem, page 435)

The re-establishment of capitalism within the country could not fail to lead, also, to a drastic turn-about in the sphere of international relations and the foreign policy of the communist party and the Soviet state. Khrushchevite revisionism was gradually transformed into the ideology and policy of the new imperialist superpower, which justifies and defends its expansion, aggression and wars for the establishment of world domination. Offspring of this ideology and policy are the notorious theories of «limited sovereignty», the «international division of labour» and the «economic-political and military integration» of the countries of the so-called socialist community, which have bound these countries hand and foot and transformed them into vassal states. (ibidem, page 437)

In order to attain its expansionist, neo-colonialist objectives, Soviet social-imperialism has created a theory according to which no country can liberate and defend itself from imperialism and develop in an independent way without Soviet aid and tutelage. It misuses the slogan of «internationalist aid» in order to undertake aggressions and to plunder the wealth of other countries. (ibidem, page 438)

The processes of class differentiation are seething, and, class conflicts are building up rapidly in all the revisionist countries. The Soviet Union makes no exception in this direction, although outwardly it looks as the most stable among them. The wounds which the restoration of capitalism has opened can be healed only with the overthrow of revisionism and the re-establishment of socialism. (ibidem, page 439)

Chinese revisionism:

Our Party has waged a great, open, principled struggle against Chinese revisionism, the ideology, policy, stands and actions of the Communist Party of China. Chinese revisionism is an opportunist current in the world communist movement, and its foundation — Mao Zedong thought, is an ideology with archaic features, an amalgam of ancient Chinese theories of Confucius and Mencius and new paraphrased theories without any organic structural connection, painted up with a Marxist phraseology. Mao Zedong thought represents a hegemonic ideology of world domination, based on a heterogeneous collection of contradictory and pragmatic theorems and ideas. When China began the construction of the new Chinese state, which emerged from the liberation war, the Chinese ship wallowed confusedly, sometimes to the right, sometimes to the left, in the waters of this ideology. This was the source of those vacillations of China and that lack of definition of the character of its political and economic system.

The theory which guided the new China was not Marxism-Leninism. The Marxist slogans in Chinese characters painted on the facade gave the false impression that some features of scientific socialism existed. They prevented the continual deviations from being clearly discerned.

While the role of the dictatorship of the proletariat was being stressed in China, the dictatorship of rival groups and personalities was concealed and developed under it.

While the leading role of the party was stressed, this concealed a chaotic organization and the non-existent leadership of the party. While there was talk about the hegemony of the working class, the leading role, in fact, was left to the peasantry, because it was its petty-bourgeois ideology which predominated in China.

In this development of China we had to discern that under the cloak of «revolution» lurked counter-revolution, that under the cloak of Mao Zedong thought lurked anti-Marxism, a trend of modern revisionism which was seeking political, ideological, organizational and state forms and structures appropriate for the «Chinese continent» and for its capitalist-imperialist aspirations.(ibidem, page 440)

It took our Party a fairly long time to discern this anti-Marxist course of the Communist Party of China and the Chinese state, with which we had good friendly relations. For our Party the theoretical-political essence of this friendship was very important, the question of the struggle to preserve the purity of Marxism-Leninism and the question of socialism and the revolution were important.

At first we waged a principled struggle through debates, as between comrades, but gradually it became embittered because of the anti-Marxist attitude of China. On the part of the Party of Labour of Albania, this was a struggle with no concessions, but also an unequal and difficult struggle. Had not this struggle been waged the construction of socialism in Albania would have been endangered.

The importance of the struggle of the Party of Labour of Albania lies in the fact that it destroyed two myths: that of China as a country in which socialism was being built, and that of Mao Zedong thought as the Marxism-Leninism of our time. In this struggle to defend principles our Party took account of all the economic difficulties which might be created for the country.

Mao Zedong thought, publicized as the «further scientific development of Marxism-Leninism», might have had an influence, as it did in fact on the international communist movement and on certain Marxist-Leninist parties in particular. Because of many circumstances, these parties, being quite unable to make a profound analysis of this revisionist ideological trend, thought that in great China and in Mao Zedong they had the leaders of the proletarian revolution, resolute supporters in the struggle against American imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism, natural defenders of the just national liberation wars of the peoples.

In this struggle to defend Marxism-Leninism and the revolution and to oppose the pseudo-Marxist ideology of Mao Zedong thought, other sister Marxist-Leninist parties, too, fought with wisdom and revolutionary determination and made a valuable contribution.

The exposure of China as a non-socialist country and of Mao Zedong thought as an anti-Marxist theory wiped out a dangerous illusion in the international Marxist-Leninist movement, just as had occurred with Soviet and Yugoslav revisionism and the other reactionary revisionist currents.

Any disguise, any falsification, any deviation from the scientific theory of Marxism-Leninism cannot be kept up for long. Sooner or later it is exposed, because it runs counter to the ideals of the working class and the peoples who fight for freedom, for genuine democracy, for socialism, for a society without exploiters and exploited. (ibidem, page 442)

Without freeing themselves from Mao Zedong thought the Chinese proletariat and the Chinese people will be unable to find the right road which leads to socialism.

In the future, too, the Party of Labour of Albania will continue its consistent principled struggle for the complete exposure of Chinese revisionism, for the establishment of a clear-cut dividing line between Marxism-Leninism and the anti-Marxist ideas of Mao Zedong.

(After the death of comrade Enver Hoxha the revisionist in Albania restricted their struggle against Maoism gradually. After a couple of years, they had abandoned completely this struggle).

Without denouncing and rejecting Mao Zedong thought, without combating and eradicating any influence of it in the revolutionary movement, there can be no serious talk about the struggle against Chinese revisionism or against modern revisionism as a whole, the Marxist-Leninist movement cannot be properly consolidated and developed and the cause of the revolution carried forward successfully. (ibidem, pages 443-444)

Euro-communism:

The more the contradictions of capitalism and imperialism deepen, and the closer the wave of the revolution approaches, the more the other revisionist current — Eurocommunism, reveals its anti-Marxist and counter-revolutionary features.

Eurocommunism is a product of the degeneration of the communist parties which took the course of revisionism and of the split which occurred in the revisionist camp as a result of the predominance which bourgeois nationalism assumed within this camp.

It is the ideology of the worker aristocracy, fed with crumbs from the profits of the bourgeoisie.

Eurocommunism, which is the purest ideology of bourgeois reformism, plays the role of the «fifth column» in the ranks of the workers' movement.

The Eurocommunists, who were the most ardent supporters of the campaign against Stalin, allegedly to return to Lenin, have now united openly with the whole chorus of the bourgeoisie and the social-democrats to attack Lenin and Leninism. The very term «Eurocommunism» is an expression of their departure from Marxism-Leninism, of their denial of the universal laws of the revolution and the construction of socialist society. The Eurocommunists have exhumed from the grave and put into circulation again the old opportunist theories of Lasalle and Bernstein, Kautsky and the 2nd International, which they publicize as the last word in the creative development of Marxism in our days.

The open attack from anti-communist positions all along the line against the fundamental teachings of Marxism-Leninism is the logical end of all modern revisionism and all its trends.

The Eurocommunists' preachings about the supraclass capitalist state, about democracy for all, about the peaceful, parliamentary democratic road to socialism, about structural reforms within the framework of the bourgeois constitution, etc., have only one aim: to sabotage the revolution and defend and perpetuate the capitalist order. When the Italian, French or Spanish revisionists talk about the «historic compromise», the «historic bloc of the left», etc., or when they struggle to get into the bourgeois governments, they do this not in order to wrest power from the bourgeoisie, not to liquidate the capitalist order, but to protect it from the revolution and to take over the management of the affairs of the bourgeoisie themselves. They want to replace social-democracy, which is now compromised and discredited in the eyes of the masses in its role as an open servant of the bourgeoisie. While they prettify capitalism, the Eurocommunists express open hostility to socialism. According to them, no true socialism exists or ever has existed up till now. For them the «true socialism» is that which they themselves have invented, the so-called «democratic socialism», «pluralist socialism», or the «third road».

The «socialism» envisaged by the Eurocommunists is a socialism without the dictatorship of the proletariat, without the undivided leadership of the communist party, without the Marxist-Leninist theory. In this socialism, state power will belong to all classes, the different parties will come to leadership according to the votes they receive in elections, and the Marxist ideology will coexist with all the other ideologies, bourgeois, petty-bourgeois and religious. Different forms of the economy, the socialized property and private enterprise, imperialist capital and the multi-national companies, will exist in the socialism of the Eurocommunists. Socialism and capitalism are two mutually exclusive social orders. The new society advocated by the Eurocommunists is nothing but the present-day capitalist society painted in socialist colours.(ibidem, pages 445-446)

Comrade Enver Hoxha drew a clear demarcation line to all these different appearances of bourgeois socialism:

The ideas of genuine socialism have been and remain a great force to inspire, mobilize and organize the revolutionary struggle of the masses.

Today there is no need to invent new «socialisms» or to copy the so-called socialisms of the modern revisionists, such as the Soviet, Yugoslav, Chinese and other models, which are socialist only in name.

There is nothing unknown about what socialism is, what it represents and what it brings about, how it is achieved and how socialist society is built. A theory and practice of scientific socialism exists. Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin teach us this theory. We find the practice of it in that rich experience of the construction of socialism in the Soviet Union in the time of Lenin and Stalin, and we find it today in Albania, where the new society is being built according to the teachings of Marxism-Leninism.

Of course, as Lenin said, socialism will look different and will have its own special features in different countries as a result of the differing socio-economic conditions, the way in which the revolution is carried out, the traditions, the international circumstances, etc. But the basic principles and the universal laws of socialism remain unshakeable and are essential for all countries.

The Marxist-Leninists carefully study the revolutionary processes in their own countries, as well as the national and international conditions in which they take place.

They are not dogmatic either in theory or in practice. For them, Marxism-Leninism, as a dialectical materialist world outlook, is a living, creative doctrine in ceaseless development.

The Marxist-Leninists are not conservative and fanatical, as the revisionists and the bourgeois charge. On the contrary, they are the most progressive people, resolute fighters against everything outdated and backward. They stand firmly on the positions of the new and fight with all their might for its victory. The revisionists and all the other opportunists who, as lackeys of the bourgeoisie, defend a lost cause, defend an obsolete order of oppression and exploitation, are conservative and reactionary. It is precisely this reactionary position which has plunged modern revisionism into a profound crisis.

The liberation of the consciousness of the proletariat and the peoples from the inhibiting influence of revisionism, the dissemination of Marxism-Leninism which points out the only correct course for the struggle and victory, is a primary task today in order to carry forward the revolutionary process in each country and on a world scale.

With the upsurge of the revolt and movements of the masses, with the awakening of the national and class consciousness of the peoples and from the fact that the world is facing great socio-economic upheavals, this task becomes even more urgent.

All the enemies are striving to alienate the masses from the revolution. The bourgeoisie, social democracy, the modern revisionists and the opportunists of every hue are doing everything in their power to deceive the working class and the masses, to implant ideological confusion and disruption, to spread pessimism and fatalism, to arouse distrust in the revolution and socialism among the people, and to build up the psychosis that it is impossible to smash and defeat capitalism and imperialism. For these enemies, the only problem is to give capitalism «a more human face», which means that the big capitalists should continue to rule, but should throw a few crumbs to the poor. The bourgeois ideologists, the apologists of Soviet imperialism, the advocates of the theory of «three worlds», of «nonalignment» and the North-South dialogue, the Pope of Rome and the trade-union bosses are all united in this joint chorus.

Then comrade Enver Hoxha dealt with the tasks of the Marxists-Leninists both in general and according to the different conditions in different countries.

Most important in his report is comrade Enver Hoxha's commitment of Socialist Albania to the Marxist-Leninist World Movement. This last paragraph of his report to the 8th Congress of the PLA will be completely published as followed:

For our Marxist-Leninist parties the times are revolutionary.

The new Marxist-Leninist parties are growing and tempering themselves all over the world. Their role and activity, their links and influence among the working class and masses are increasing. New parties have been created in many different countries and zones. All the conditions exist for them to be created even where there are no genuine revolutionary parties of the working class.

This is an imperative fighting task of the most conscious, revolutionary elements of the proletariat.

The favourable objective situation in no way obscures the acute problems and major tasks which face the Marxist-Leninists. True, our forces are mounting continuously and the situation is developing in favour of the revolution, but reaction is active, too. Despite their profound and irreconcilable contradictions, the bourgeoisie, social-democracy and the various revisionists are united on one thing — they operate jointly in the struggle against Marxism-Leninism and the revolution. They try to implant distrust and fear amongst the masses of the people in order to alienate them from the revolution and socialism, to attack and damage the Marxist-Leninist parties in individual countries and the revolutionary communist movement as a whole.

Earlier, when Mao Zedong thought was exerting its influence in many parties, the imperialists and socialimperialists were more at ease, because they knew that this revisionist current was doing its work of undermining the Marxist-Leninist movement. Now that this current has been exposed, the enemies are trying to sow confusion by spreading all kinds of pseudo-Marxist theories, to split and weaken the parties through factional struggle, to manipulate weak and ill-formed elements in various ways and impel them to revisionist positions.

Today, however, the Marxist-Leninist parties have great experience in the struggle with different anti-Marxist currents and are better armed against the tactics which the bourgeoisie and revisionists employ. This experience helps them to wage the struggle against enemies with success, to increase their vigilance, to continuously raise the ideological and political level of the party members and arm them with the Marxist-Leninist theory. The revolutionary struggle has taught the Marxist-Leninist parties to strengthen their links with the masses, to go amongst the different social strata and organize them, to utilize legal and illegal work, combining them correctly in struggle against manifestations of legalism and bourgeois liberalism, as well as of narrow sectarianism and work in isolation.

In the face of the co-ordinated activity of the imperialists and revisionists against Marxism-Leninism and the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat and the peoples, the further strengthening of the unity of the Marxist-Leninist movement is an imperative need.

The strength of the international Marxist-Leninist communist movement lies in the correctness of the ideas for which it fights and in its unity. In their struggle the Marxist-Leninist parties are guided by the teachings of our great classics, use the rich and all-sided heritage from the Comintern, rely on the experience of their own struggle against the revisionist betrayal and bear in mind the negative experience of the parties which degenerated into revisionism. All these lessons and this experience constitute a very great ideological, political, organizational, theoretical and practical wealth for tempering and strengthening the parties and the Marxist-Leninist movement in every direction.

The meetings and discussions between sister parties make a valuable contribution to strengthening the unity of the Marxist-Leninist movement. In this way they benefit from one another's experience, arrive at common assessments of situations and unity of thought and action. The experience of one party cannot replace the experience of many parties. On the contrary, it is the experience of all the Marxist-Leninist parties which makes the movement invincible.

Standing loyal to the principles of proletarian internationalism, the Party of Labour of Albania has always tried and will continue to try to make its own contribution to strengthening the unity of the Marxist-Leninist movement and the collaboration between the sister parties.

It is an honour for our Party of Labour to stand shoulder to shoulder with the other Marxist-Leninist parties, which are equal detachments of the revolutionary movement of the working class, in the great historic struggle for the cause of Marxism-Leninism, the revolution and socialism. The Albanian communists and our whole people prize very highly the solidarity, the love and trust which the sister Marxist-Leninist parties, the proletariat and the revolutionary and freedom-loving peoples display.

In his closing address at the 8th Congress of the PLA Enver Hoxha said:

Comrades,

the delegations of the Marxist-Leninist parties, which have arrived from all continents, have honored our 8th Congress with their participation. Allow me to thank on your behalf and on behalf of the whole party with all my heart, for the warm greeting messages that have been delivered to us by their parties, and for the fraternal greetings addresses that they have held here at the party congress.

Their internationalist solidarity is a valuable support for our efforts in constructing socialism, and in the struggle which our party and our people wages against imperialism and modern revisionism, against all our common enemies.

On our part, we assure to the Marxist-Leninist parties, and to all our brothers-in-arms that the Albanian communists will preserve the revolutionary friendship which exists between us. We will spare no effort to further develop and consolidate our cooperation, on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

The CC of the PLA invited delegations of the 23 Marxist-Leninist parties all over the world:

This is the list according to the report of Zeri i Popullit:

- 1. Delegation of the CP Vietnam, led by comrade Song Hao, Secretary of the Central Committee.**
- 2. Delegation of the CP Brazil, led by comrade Joao Amazonas, First Secretary of the Central Committee**
- 3. Delegation of the CP Germany, led by comrade Ernst Aust, chairman of the party.**
- 4. Delegation of the CP of Spain (ML), led by Raoul Marco, member of the Secretariat of the Central Committee.**
- 5. Delegation of the Peruvian CP (ML), led by Antonio Fernandez, General Secretary of the party.**
- 6. Delegation of the CP Colombia (ML), led by the First Secretary pf ther Central Committee.**
- 7. Delegation of the Portuguese CP (Reconstructed), led by comrade Jose Alves, political secretary of the Central Committee.**
- 8. Delegation of the Marxist-Leninist Party of Ecuador, led by comrade Pasqual Prado, Secretary of the Central Committee.**
- 9. Delegation of the CP Canada (ML), led by comrade Hardial Baines, chairman of the party.**

- 10. Delegation of the CP Danmark (ML), led by comrade Klaus Riis Klausen, First Secretary of the Central Committee.**
- 11. Delegation of the Party of Labour of Iran (Toufan), led by comrade Khalil, General Secretary of the party.**
- 12. Delegation of the Communist Workers Party of France, led by comrade Chantal.**
- 13. Delegation of the CP Japan (Left), led by comrade Toshio Jusudo, member of the Polit Bureau and of the Secretariat of the Central Committee of the party.**
- 14. Delegation of the CP of Togo, led by comrade Kokou Jules, First Secretary of the party.**
- 15. Delegation of the CP New Zealand, led by comrade Jack Lock, member of the Central Committee of the party.**
- 16. Delegation of the Communist Party of Labour of Dominican Republic, led by comrade Chalub Mejia, General Secretary.**
- 17. Delegation of the Revolutionary CP of India, led by comrade Lal Sing, General Secretary of the party.**
- 18. Delegation of the Revolutionary CP of Britain, led by comrade David Williams, General Secretary of the party.**
- 19. Delegation of the CP of Mexico (ML), led by comrade Sergio Barlos, member of the Central Executive Commission.**
- 20. Delegation of the Central Committee of the CP of Indonesia.**
- 21. Delegation of the CP of Dahomey.**
- 22. Delegation of the Organization for the foundation of the CP of Sweden, led by comrade Nils Anderson, member of the Secretariat of the Central Committee.**
- 23. Delegation of the Marxist-Leninist Movement "Proletarian Action" of Chile, led by comrade Miguel Asenjo, member of the central leadership and the political secretariat.**
- 24. Delegation of the CP Iraq, member of the central leadership.**

In their speeches the delegates of the Marxist-Leninist Parties expressed their sympathy with the great successes of the Albanian people under the leadership of the PLA, the CC with comrade Enver Hoxha at the head, particularly in their struggle against revisionism of all hues and for the purity of Marxism-Leninism. They paid tribute to the internationalist attitude of the PLA and its contribution to the defense of freedom and independence of the peoples, to the matter of the socialist world revolution, and to the brave struggle against the imperialist-revisionist encirclement.

After the closing speech of comrade Enver Hoxha - who was re-elected as First Secretary - all delegates of the 8th Congress rose from their seats singing the Hymn of the International.



Comrade Enver Hoxha

singing the "Hymn of the International"

On October 30, 1981, the Marxist-Leninist Parties were invited by comrade Enver Hoxha. He emphasized the significance of this meeting in the situation of the struggle against imperialism and modern revisionism. He spoke also about the great achievements of the construction of socialism in Albania. The meeting succeeded in a warm and friendly atmosphere.

On the occasion of the 40th Anniversary of the founding of the PLA, the foreign delegations laid down wreaths at the cemetery of the heroes of the homeland.

A mass demonstration of 120,000 people took place on the Skanderbeg Square, at which Comrade Enver Hoxha and the foreign delegations took part, presenting their greeting messages. Comrade Enver Hoxha welcomed all participants with his raised fist, and from 100 000 throats rang out the cry of "Party - Enver, we are always ready !"

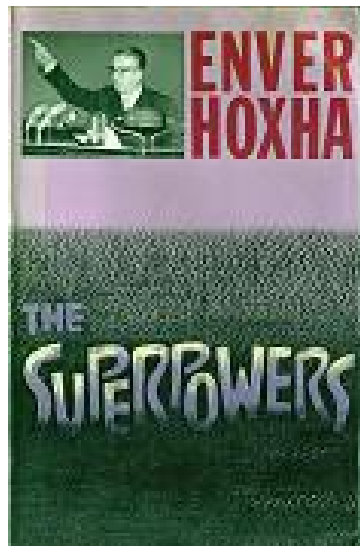
In November 7, 1981, comrade Enver Hoxha welcomed the delegates of the Marxist-Leninist parties in the Brigade Palace. At the event, a cultural program was presented. Comrade Enver Hoxha stressed that the PLA considered itself always as an attachment of the Marxist-Leninist World Movement and the revolution in Albania as part of the socialist world revolution. He was firmly convinced that the Marxist-Leninist parties will furthermore defend and unfold the banner of Marxism-Leninism in their determined and uncompromising struggle against all hues of modern revisionism. There are great battles to come, but also great victories. However, without struggle and victims, there is no liberation and no victory of the revolution. In the process of the common struggle, unity of the Marxist-Leninist World Movement will be strengthened and steeled which is of great importance for the success of the socialist world revolution. The PLA will do everything in our power, to use all its possibilities to expand the close, brotherly cooperation with the fraternal parties together constantly and even more to consolidate the unity of our Marxist-Leninist world movement. We will fulfill our internationalist duty in every situation. Long live the Marxist-Leninist parties! Long live the militant solidarity between our parties! Glory to Marxism-Leninism!



Enver Hoxha - December 1981. During a meeting of the Political Bureau of the CC of the PLA

1982

With this year the period of hard class struggle of life and death of Socialism against capitalist restoration took place which ended with the victory of the revisionists and the destruction of the last proletarian dictatorship in the world. It was comrade Enver Hoxha who was the leader of the struggle against revisionist deviations within State, Party and Society. Purges were unavoidable. Thus, the overthrow of the last socialist state was already prepared hiddenly in the last years of Enver Hoxha's lifetime. Primarily Western degenerated ideology penetrated through the Albanian borders and influenced especially privileged elements within the Youth. The spreading glitter of the Western showcase could not remain hidden behind the Albanian borders. And also revisionist appearances came up increasingly frequent as can be compared within the revisionist Eastern countries.



Political Diary on International Questions

(1958 - 1984)

In February 1982, he wrote in his Diary "The Superpowers"

On the international Situation

As our Party has said, everything is being manipulated by the two superpowers, the United States of America and the Soviet Union, as well as by world capitalism, with the aim of suppressing the revolution.

Interventions and the military occupations by the superpowers speak of the decay of world capitalism, of the confusion which reigns in the international situation which is seething with revolution. The measures which world capitalism is taking, the terror it employs, the manoeuvres and manipulations undertaken by the parties of the bourgeoisie, including the revisionist parties, which have turned into mere second-rank social-democratic parties, do not reduce the anger of the masses who are counter-acting every day with more and more force, up to the use of weapons.

The Party and we, its leadership, must maintain and strengthen this victory, which as the 8th Congress reiterated, is continually consolidated by safeguarding the purity of the line of our Marxist-Leninist Party. Hence, we must work with all our might, intelligently, and with great care, to further strengthen the situation of our country internally and abroad.

In this explosive situation, comrade Enver Hoxha initiated ideological, political, economical and military preparations for the defense against a possible military intervention of the capitalist-revisionist world in Albania.

In the 1980s Enver Hoxha's state of health worsened, he suffered from diabetes and in 1983 he was stricken with a cerebral ischemia, and again in 1984.

This was one of the reasons why comrade Enver Hoxha concentrated on his theoretical work. On April 9, 1985, he suffered a cardiac arrest; the doctors were able to revive his heart, but he was deprived of consciousness. On April 11, 1985, Enver Hoxha died.

And some years after his death the revisionists dropped their "Hoxhaist" mask and struggled openly for the restoration of capitalism and their sell out of Albania. They needed less than 10 years for the transformation of socialism to capitalism.

ENVER HOXHA

THE TITOITES

"The Titoites"

published 1983 - on the traitor and agent Mehmet Shehu

It was not by chance when the famous book , the "Titoites", was written in 1981-1982 and published in 1983. We had already referred to that book, but here we point particularly to the unmasking of the traitor, agent and renegade Mehmet Shehu who committed suicide on December 17, 1981, after which the entire Shehu clan (his wife, Fiqirete Shehu Sanxhaktari, sons and other of his relatives) were arrested and imprisoned. Mehmet Shehu himself was denounced as one of the most dangerous traitors and enemies of the country. Shehu infiltrated capitulationist tendencies within State and Party concerning the defense of Socialist Albania against the increasing pressure of the capitalist-revisionist encirclement increasingly shortly after the struggle against the Chinese revisionists. He was unmasked not only as a Yugoslav spy bit also as a spay of the KGB and the CIA. The class enemy was interested in denouncing comrade Enver Hoxha to be allegedly the "murderer" of Mehmet Shehu. And, indeed, there are still some Fan-Clubs who defend this traitor and spreading furious lies on comrade Enver Hoxha and the PLA. Comrade Enver Hoxha demasked Mehmet Shehu completely in his book "The Titoites" as can be read as follows (long paragraph):

It is a recognized fact that especially after the 20th Congress of February 1956, Khrushchev, in collusion with Tito, did everything in his power to overturn the situation in all the countries of people's democracy. As I wrote above, one of the first measures which Khrushchev took was the rehabilitation of those condemned in the time of the Cominform, bringing them into the leaderships of the parties and countries of people's democracy. Rajk in Hungary, Gomulka in Poland and Kostov in Bulgaria were all rehabilitated one after the other, the socalled movement for democratization» for «the re-examination of decisions taken under the influence of Stalin and the Cominform,» etc.. was launched. In many countries the «new line» of reconciliation with the former enemies, «peaceful coexistence» with imperialism, etc., were made law. None of the other erstwhile people's democracies of Europe, nor Mao Zedong's China, lagged behind in this headlong gallop.

Tito watched this process with satisfaction and did everything possible to give it new impulses and develop it in his own interest. Hoping that the time had come for him to take up the banner, he declared more than once that the «blame» for all that had occurred lay in the socialist order itself and, consequently, the «dogmatic», «Stalinist» socialism must be overturned and the Yugoslav order of «vital», «human self-administration» must be established.

Many were deceived by or enthusiastically welcomed all this betrayal which was now codified and became an official ideology. Only our Party and country remained unshaken on the former line. This could not fail to infuriate, the preachers of modern revisionism, Tito and Khrushchev. When they saw that what was happening in the other countries was not happening here, they decided to pursue their old course — that of plots. In this direction Tito was a master.

The Tirana Conference was precisely a part of the Tito-Khrushchev plot to overturn the situation in our country. Under the pretext of «acquainting» people with and «popularizing» the decisions and theses of the 20th Congress of the CPSU, which the whole world was propagating noisily, the agents of the Yugoslavs and other elements condemned by the Party, instructed by the Yugoslav embassy, began secretly to indoctrinate the delegates elected to the Conference. After the group of conspirators at the Tirana Conference was routed, some of its participants were expelled from the Party and some others, those who turned out to be in contact with the Yugoslav embassy (because at that time we had no facts about the Soviet embassy) were handed over to the court.

At that time, however, because of the level of our knowledge, we did not manage to discover and attack the most powerful implement of foreign agencies who, on this occasion, set in action by the Yugoslav UDB, secretly played the main role in the plot hatched up. This was Mehmet Shehu. The facts which had to do with his stand at the Conference did not permit us to arrive at any conclusion other than the ones we did. Now, from analysis of earlier and later events, especially of the facts which we discovered after his suicide on December 18, 1981, the Party has arrived at precise and completely proven conclusions.

However, before I speak about the role and conspiratorial aims of Mehmet Shehu and his enemy group at the Tirana Conference in 1956 and after it, up till the moment when he killed himself, I consider it necessary to go back to the past to show who Mehmet Shehu really was, where he came from and whom he served.

From the investigations following the suicide of Mehmet Shehu and from the documents in the possession of the Party, it results that Mehmet Shehu was an agent recruited by the Americans from the time he attended Fultz's school in Tirana. On Fultz's orders, Mehmet Shehu went to study in a military school in Italy, on the orders of the American secret service he was sent to Spain to penetrate into the ranks of the International Brigades. The aim of the American secret service was to provide its agent with the «aura» of an «internationalist fighter» so he could be used for long-term aims in Albania later. After the defeat of the anti-fascist war in Spain, Mehmet Shehu went to a refugee camp in France where he stayed for three years, at a time when many of his comrades escaped from it. In the camp he was recruited as an agent of the British Intelligence Service also. He was taken out of the camp by an officer of the German Gestapo and one of the Italian SIM, passed through Italy, where he was held two months, and was then handed over in Durrës to the Albanian notorious spy in the pay of the Italian secret service Man Kukaleshi, who released him after 20 days, and Mehmet Shehu went to Mallakstra and linked up with the organization of our Party there.

During the National Liberation War, Mehmet Shehu and his wife Fiqret Sanxhaktari were recruited as agents of the Yugoslavs, too, by Dusan Mugosa. Mugosa began his work with Mehmet Shehu in Vlora in the spring and summer of 1943 and intensified it even more when the pair of them «arranged» that they should be together in the 1st Shock Brigade which we formed in August of that year. While in the brigade Mugosa capped his work neatly. He recruited Fiqret Sanxhaktari and arranged her betrothal to Mehmet Shehu for the aims of his secret activity. Like every foreign secret agency, the Titoite agency, which was emerging and taking form «in the flames of the war», operated with its recruits for shortterm and long-term aims: in the short term, immediately, Mugosa demanded and urged his agent Mehmet Shehu to commit the maximum number of sectarian acts with the aim that later, when necessary, the Yugoslavs could use this sectarianism, which they implanted and encouraged themselves, to accuse the leadership of our Party of «sectarianism», just as they did (as I said above, this was consummated at Berat in November 1944). At the same time, in the context of «collaboration with the allies», the Titoite secret agency learned a great deal from the experience of the Intelligence Service. Apart from what I said above, it also took into account that it might suffer defeat in Albania, therefore, it prepared Mehmet and Fiqret Shehu as agents for difficult times in the future. To this end, the former was given the secret pseudonym MISH (Mehmet Ismail Shehu), and the latter the pseudonym FISARI (Fiqret Sanxhaktari).

From the written documents of Mehmet Shehu, which have now been found, it is proved that he was a member of the Berat plot, together with Koçi Xoxe and Nako Spiru, irrespective of the fact that he was not at Berat in November 1944.

Thus, in a letter addressed to the Central Committee of the Party [to Koçi Xoxe] in December 1944, Mehmet Shehu attacks the line of the Party as «sectarian» and «localist» and describes its sound leadership as a «clique within the Party». And in order to leave no doubt as to whom he was referring, Mehmet Shehu, enthusiastic over the anti-party turn at Berat, writes with his own hand that «if the Party... had not made the turn which it is making we would certainly be heading for disaster.» {1 From the letter of Mehmet Shehu addressed to the CO of the CPA [to Koçi Xoxe] on December 10, 1944. CAP.}

Naturally Mehmet Shehu, as a recruited agent of the Yugoslavs, would take an anti-party stand and unite with the plotters. At the same time, through this letter of solidarity he found the opportunity to express his personal discontent with the leadership of the Party and, especially with me, and to demand from Koçi Xoxe and those who directed Koçi Xoxe a reward for the services which he had rendered and was rendering.

During the war, too, Mehmet Shehu had displayed signs of discontent, because at the 1st National Conference of the Communist Party of Albania at Labinot in March 1943 he was elected only a candidate member of the Central Committee and at Permet, at the Antifascist National Liberation Congress in May 1944, he was not promoted to general, like several others whom he scorned.

Mehmet Shehu wanted the mistakes which he had made and continued to make by violating the line of the Party and failing to carry out the orders of the General Staff, over which he had been criticized several times, to be forgotten, and now it is quite clear that he did not do all this without a purpose. So he had used terror in the villages through which the 1st Brigade passed to discredit the Party and the partisan forces, elevated to a legend the «incursion» of two battalions of the 1st Brigade to rescue the General Staff from the German-Ballist encirclement, although he not only did not rescue it (because the Staff broke through the encirclement with its own forces), but Mehmet Shehu deliberately lost two weeks, in place of two days, taking the forces of the Brigade over a number of dangerous paths, thus, causing many brave fighters of this Brigade to lay down their lives heroically.

During the war Mehmet Shehu opposed the order of the General Staff for the 1st Division to cross the Shkumbin River and move to the north. This opposition of Mehmet Shehu's was not something accidental. It was in accord with the Anglo-American plan to prevent the movement of formations of the ANLA from the south to Central and Northern Albania and with the great pressure which the Anglo-American Mediterranean Command exerted on the General Command of our Army to stop the movement of the Division to the north {1 See Enver Hoxha «The Anglo-American Threat to Albania» (Memoirs), Tirana 1982, pp. 248-268, Eng. ed.} and prevent any attack on the forces of Abaz Kupi describing this movement and the vigorous development of our fighting actions as «interference in its strategic plans».

However, our Party and the General Staff had their own strategic plans for the liberation of the whole of Albania as quickly as possible. Our categorical order for the immediate movement of the 1st Division to the north resulted in foiling the Anglo-American plan and the services of Mehmet Shehu towards his patrons.

Hence, Mehmet Shehu came to Albania and fought not as a communist and partisan, but as a mercenary sent by the Anglo-Americans to serve their plans for the future of Albania. {2 That Mehmet Shehu was a secret agent of the Americans and served them, is also borne out, among others, by a letter dated February 6, 1944 which the CIA agent Larry Post (who later was sent by the American secret service to Albania) wrote to another secret agent of the Americans Hasan Reçi, «I repeated many times to them that we wanted facts, facts, and facts about every situation and everything,» stressed Larry Post in this letter and continued: «Transmit to Mjekrra — Mehmet Shehu — my warmest greetings. Is it possible for him to send me a report on his situation and activity?! You do not write whether you have contacted him. . . ! P.S. Mjekrra may read this letter, too.» (From the original copy of the letter in CAP.)) After his suicide, a program written by his own hand in 1942, at the time when he came to Albania, was found in his safe. This was nothing but a bourgeoisdemocratic program which made no mention at all of socialism and the communist party, but of many parties, just as the Anglo-American missions and the reactionary groups which supported them tried to bring about in the period immediately after Liberation. We are now in possession of documents which fully prove that Mehmet Shehu was an agent of the Intelligence Service, too. In these documents figure his name and some coded pseudonyms such as, BAB-008, etc. From them it emerges that Mehmet Shehu had even received money for his services and the centre instructed to leave him at peace, which meant that he was one of those potential agents that are left, in the language of spying agencies, »dormant« so as to be used when needed {1 From its assessments of the situation in Albania in the end of 1944, the British secret service envisaged the eventual organization of an opposition to the new state of people's democracy which was created.

They included Mehmet Shehu among the main elements of this opposition. This is borne out by a document dated November 10, 1944, the photocopy of which has been taken from the archives of the Foreign Office, London, and which, among other things, says about Mehmet Shehu, «. ., he is a communist, but his personal ambition exceeds his loyalty to the Party». (FO 371/43554 PRO.) Whereas in another document dated February 10, 1945, the section of the British Intelligence Service for Albania (Force No. 399) describes Mehmet Shehu «to be the only man with sufficient following to prove dangerous to Hoxha, should they disagree» (read: over the program of the British Mehmet Shehu brought with him on his return to Albania in 1942, which was found in his safe after his suicide. See p. 599 of this book). WO 204.}

Thus, this hidden agent of the American secret service, later trained by the Intelligence Service in the refugee camps of former volunteers from the International Brigades in France to sabotage the National Liberation War in Albania, linked, as I wrote above, during the war with the Yugoslav OZNA (UDB), could not but go further down the road of betrayal: immediately after Liberation, on the 'Orders of his boss, Fultz, who at that time was official representative of the American mission in Tirana, he was not long in infiltrating into the Soviet secret service. We are now in possession of a letter which Mehmet Shehu sent Major Ivanov immediately after Liberation, couched in so many vilifying terms against the line of the Party and full of hatred for the sound cadres who defended this line, especially against the General Secretary Enver Hoxha, Hysni Kapo and others. This proves that Mehmet Shehu, apart from his links as a secret agent of the Yugoslavs, had also established links with a greater power, with the secret service of the Soviet Union. This is what, among other things, he wrote to the Major of the Soviet secret service, Ivanov, chief of the Soviet military mission in Tirana:

«... I feel it my duty to tell you my opinion about the things which I see and express what I think. I know very well that this action of mine on this occasion is contrary to the rules of the organizational line of our Party, but having confidence in you... I take the responsibility of referring directly to you.» {1 From the letter of Mehmet Shehu addressed to Major Ivanov. CAP.}

The letter in the form of a report to Ivanov goes on to make an all-round attack on the line of the Party, which led the National Liberation War and triumphed. He attacks the historic periods and events from the past struggle of the Party, such as the Conference of Peza, the Congress of Përmet, and the 1st National Conference of the Party, and is in complete conformity with the anti-Marxist and anti-Albanian views of Velimir Stojnic and Koçi Xoxe.

Like Velimir Stojnic, Mehmet Shehu, too, describes Enver Hoxha and the other comrades as «a CLIQUE» {1 The words in capitals are quoted from the original letter.} which must be purged, going further than the decisions which were taken at Berat. «In order to make the change,» writes Mehmet Shehu, «a total revolution in our Party is required» (implying a total purge).

While describing Tito as «a head of INTERNATIONAL value» and in order to fulfil his personal ambition which he could not achieve during his struggle full of vacillations and sectarian and anarchist mistakes, Mehmet Shehu closes his letter to Major Ivanov with certain «conclusions» and appeals written in capital letters.

«Amongst us, Albanian communists,» he writes, «there is no one as capable as Tito in Yugoslavia. . . In order to help us to advance well, it is necessary that we have direct and immediate aid from the CI [Communist International] or the CPY [Communist Party of Yugoslavia] {2 Underlining and brackets in this excerpt of the letter are ours (Editorial Board).} and this is needed quickly because the situation has given rise to very important problems.» (After Mehmet Shehu's suicide, in his safe was found a note in his own hand about his having written a letter to Ivanov.)

In this context it is easy to understand the acrobatic twists and contradictory stands of Mehmet Shehu during the National Liberation War and after Liberation, before and after the 8th and 11th Plenums of the Central Committee (in 1948), sometimes defending the Yugoslav theses, sometimes opposing them under the protection of Soviet military advisers.

At the 8th Plenum Nako Spiru was denounced and condemned as an enemy by the Yugoslavs and Koçi Xoxe, while, as I wrote above, Mehmet Shehu was described as «anti-Yugoslav» and the «attacks» and «pressure» of Tito's delegates and Koçi Xoxe to remove him from the army were stepped up. However, these same «critics» from Belgrade, indeed, in Tito's name, insisted that Mehmet Shehu should not be completely eliminated, but on the contrary, should be given the portfolio of a ministry(!). He was appointed minister of communications, that is, a member of the government.

{1 At the 11th Plenum Kristo Themelko declared: «The Yugoslavs liked Mehmet Shehu.» Indeed, at one moment he turned to Mehmet Shehu and said:

«It's true that I have a whole load of mistakes, but don't forget that whenever we went to Belgrade, it was you Tito received first and not me!» «As for the criticisms in December 1947,» continued Kristo, «true, the Yugoslavs criticized him, but they told me to exert pressure on the leadership to appoint him a minister! They wanted to keep sweet with Mehmet Shehu, because they were afraid of him!» (From the minutes of the 11th Plenum of the CC of the CPA, CAP.)

Further evidence of Mehmet Shehu's «special» links with the Titoites is provided by his «confidential» correspondence with Dusan Mugosa. Thus, in the letter which he sent Mugosa on February 9, 1944, Mehmet Shehu wrote among other things: «The letter which you sent me reassures me.. . ; there you show what special personal interest you have taken [in me]. The letter reassures me, comforts me, advises, helps and teaches me. I am keeping the letter and it will serve me as your photograph with which to remember you. . . Ah! If only you were to desert and come back to us we would keep you under cover as an illegal fighter!»

In the letter of April 22, 1944, on the occasion of Mugosa's departure from Albania, after a dithyramb of praise and describing him with servility as «our teacher», Mehmet Shehu calls the Albanian communists «communist brigands», a «hotch-potch of bitter vegetables» and concludes: «Oh, Sale! [the pseudonym of Dusan Mugosa]... To whom will you entrust this special mission. . .?» (The letters are kept in the CAP.)

After the letters of the CPSU(B) to the CC of the CPY, after the 11th Plenum of the CC of our Party, Mehmet Shehu adapted himself to the line of the Party, defending the Soviet Union and Stalin and «exposing» Tito and his clique as agents of imperialism, as our whole Party did. Despite the thundering of Mehmet Shehu against the Tito clique, Belgrade remained silent. The Yugoslav UDB, in collaboration with the American CIA and the British Intelligence Service, did not denounce him, because he was their potential agent infiltrated into the Soviet secret service, the trust of which he enjoyed.

Following the death of Stalin, the team that came to power condemned Beria, the chief of the Soviet KGB, for many violations of the law. We asked Mehmet Shehu to examine whether mistakes had also been made in the organs of our Ministry of Internal Affairs of which he was the head. Mehmet Shehu was afraid that his links with the Soviet KGB or with the Western secret agencies had been discovered and he might suffer the same fate as Beria. He went to the Soviet ambassador Levichkin, whom he assured of his loyalty to the new Khrushchevite team that had come to power, and sought Soviet protection, because, according to his statements, «Enver Hoxha regards me with suspicion» and he was very disturbed about this. Levichkin advised Mehmet Shehu to come to me and make his position clear, while ensuring him that he, Levichkin, would protect him. Levichkin personally came to me, told me of Mehmet Shehu's worries and that he had advised him to come to me. Mehmet Shehu did not come for two or three weeks. At a subsequent meeting, Levichkin asked me:

«Have you talked with Mehmet Shehu?»

«He has not sought any meeting with me,» I replied.

«Perhaps you should summon him,» said Levichkin.

«By no means!» I said. «I have no reason to summon him. On the contrary, he must come to me himself and make a thorough self-criticism. It is true, we are friends with you, but I consider it a very grave mistake that he went to talk with you about a problem which has to do with us, without first talking to me, as General Secretary of the Party.»

Levichkin was alarmed and «ordered» Mehmet Shehu to come to me. First he sent Fiqret Shehu to feel my pulse. She came to enquire what was wrong with Mehmet Shehu, who was «extremely worried» (as if she herself knew nothing!). «We have no problem with him,» I replied, «so you had better ask him whether he has something against us!» In this way Mehmet Shehu was reassured that we had not made any discovery and had no suspicions about him. On Levichkin's urging too he came to me, made a self-criticism and also made a self-criticism in the Political Bureau and in the Plenum of the Central Committee, saying that he had made a serious mistake in going to the Soviet ambassador to complain about the General Secretary of the Central Committee without discussing the matter with him and without raising the problem in the leadership of the Party.

Later, something else occurred which greatly alarmed and worried Mehmet Shehu: Sokrat Bufi, a party cadre who was studying in Moscow at that time, sent the Central Committee a letter in which, amongst other things, he said: «Mehmet Shehu is a provocateur...» Mehmet Shehu was furious about this and demanded insistently in the Secretariat and in the Political Bureau of the Central Committee and several times to me personally that Sokrat Bufi should be arrested and condemned. We did not accept his proposal, because to condemn him simply for the fact that he had made a criticism of a party cadre would be contrary to the norms of the Party. Since Sokrat Bufi was appointed vice-chairman of the Executive Committee of a district, the doubts of Mehmet Shehu that we had discovered some of his sins were further aroused and he continued to live and work in feverish anxiety. The coming to power of Khrushchev and the 20th Congress of the CPSU, which brought reconciliation between the Soviet revisionists and the Titoites, found Mehmet Shehu still in this state of anxiety.

After the abortive attempt through Tuk Jakova and Bedri Spahiu to change the situation in Albania, the foreign secret agencies considered that Mehmet Shehu, too, should be brought into action. I say the foreign secret agencies, because at those moments the aims of the Soviets and the Titoites, as well as of the imperialists, with American imperialism at the head, for the disruption and destruction of the socialist countries by means of the «Khrushchev line», were all in accord. Subsequently, of course, after the sound leadership of the Party and state had been replaced with a revisionist team, the foreign secret agencies would commence their usual fights, each of them striving to take Albania under its own wing.

Hence, Mehmet Shehu was ordered by the Soviets and the Yugoslavs (but with the approval of the British and American agencies) to go into action with all his group in order to achieve in Albania what had been or was being achieved in the other former countries of people's democracy. Precisely at this point begins the implication of Mehmet Shehu in the Party Conference of Tirana, where the task of first secretary of the Party Committee of the district was performed by his wife and long-term agent of the Yugoslavs, Fiqret Shehu. By chance (but also through the secret machinations of Mehmet Shehu) the other agent of his group, Beqir Balluku, was appointed the delegate of the CC of the Party to the Conference. In regard to the others, the «claque» of the group of plotters, the need did not arise for MISH, FISARI or Balluku to be involved in their orientation. No, the chiefs of the plot, especially Mehmet Shehu, had to operate in secrecy, far behind the scenes, so they could escape in any unexpected eventuality. The employees of the Yugoslav embassy and their henchmen long known and condemned by our Party, such as Liri Gega, Dali Ndreu, Hulusi Spahiu and others, were to deal directly with the «claque», as they did.

On this occasion, the duty of the chiefs of the plot initially was to create for elements from the floor, concealed under the mandate of «delegates», conditions and possibilities to vent all their spleen and give the tone to the Conference. Only when they were assured that everything was proceeding normally could other more obvious and decisive steps be taken. Beqir Balluku and Figret Shehu accomplished this secret task. The fact is that from the first day of the Conference they created all the possibilities for the enemy elements to pour out all the filth of their anti-party questions and, when the time came for discussion, through their «inactivity», allegedly because «they were taken by surprise and dumbfounded» and were «incapable» of «explaining» things to the enemies, they arranged that enemy elements were given the floor one after the other, and this brought about that the first phase of the plot proceeded as they had envisaged and planned behind the scenes.

Precisely when the anti-party discussions at the Conference blazed up, Mehmet Shehu and Beqir Balluku «considered it in order» to demand that I go to the Conference.

Why? They had two main aims for this urgent demand which they made:

First, to place me personally directly under the main anti-party attack, to raise the tempers higher and, if I were faced with an irresistible attack or retreated, then Mehmet Shehu would manoeuvre in the troubled waters that would be created to disrupt the situation further, to take the lead and, coming out openly, carry through to the end the scenario prepared by his patrons.

Second, Mehmet Shehu had also taken account of the possible failure of the plot, indeed, even he was afraid when he saw the reins were slipping from his hands. Not knowing that their leader was Mehmet Shehu himself, the enemy elements, «the clique», did not spare their attacks on him and his wife, since they identified them with the sound leadership. In such a case he considered it in order that I should come, do battle myself, and if he saw that the plot had failed, then he would act as was his custom: would come out «beside me», would launch the «attack» against minor elements, the pawns in the game, and no doubt, against Tito, too, and as before, would wait in gloom and anxiety for more appropriate moments.

However, his patrons, too, both the new ones (Khrushchev and company) and the old ones (the Anglo-Americans and the Titoites), sensed and knew that those situations which existed then in the other parties and countries of people's democracy did not exist in Albania. The unity of the PLA was powerful. In the 15 years of its existence the PLA had proved that it did not tolerate mistakes, slips and deviations, its political and ideological past was pure, it had strong links with the masses and enjoyed the boundless love and respect of the people. In such a sound situation it was not at all easy for the enemies to stir up antiparty feelings and triumph, It was more likely that everything would burst like a soap bubble, as it did.

The enemies calculated these things well, and understandably, they were not so silly as to destroy their main agent for nothing. On the contrary, they did everything in their power to ensure that he remained as «clean» as possible, attempted in one instance or the other to launch him into the attack, but as soon as they saw he might be in danger they gave him the signal to change his position and come out «on the side» of the sound leadership.

This is what occurred on this occasion and what was to occur even later. As soon as they saw that the Party did not fall into the trap set, Mehmet Shehu and Beqir Balluku retreated into the background and «condemned» the plotters, while Fiqret Shehu vowed that she had not had the slightest warning, that the plotters had operated «behind her back», that she had been shut up at home preparing the report, etc. Fiqret Shehu was dismissed as first secretary and the reprimand was recorded on her registration document. At that time, we knew nothing in regard to Feçor Shehu {1 An anti-party element and sworn enemy of the PSRA. On the proposal of Mehmet Shehu he was appointed minister of Internal Affairs.

After the disclosure of the activity of Mehmet Shehu as a secret agent, the true features of Feçor Shehu were revealed, too, and he has been handed over to the organs of justice for investigation of his enemy activity.}, who, it now turns out, was an agent in the service of the UDB and was the liaison agent between the Yugoslav embassy and Mehmet Shehu. Mehmet Shehu personally maintained the direct links with the Soviet embassy, readily exploiting the good relations we had with the Soviet Union at that time.

In the situation which was created after the failure of the Khrushchevite-Titoite plot at the Tirana Conference and the resolute, open unmasking by our Party of the events in Poland, and especially those in Hungary, the UDB of Tito-Rankovic ordered their agents Liri Gega, Dali Ndreu and Panajot Plaku to flee to Yugoslavia in order to create an opposition abroad and to fight us through their mouths. The first two were arrested attempting to cross the border, while Panajot Plaku, with the aid of Mehmet Shehu and his collaborators amongst the officers of the army and the state security, such as the former minister of defence Beqir Ba-lluku and the former minister of internal affairs Kadri Hazbiu, crossed our state border and worked for some time in an allegedly clandestine radio which broadcast the old Titoite poison against our Party and country from the territory of Yugoslavia.

Here it is important to point out that even in the stand towards Dali Ndreu, Liri Gega and Panajot Plaku, not only the continuous anti-Albanian activity of the Titoite leadership, but also the collaboration of the Yugoslavs with the Soviets was clearly obvious. When our organs captured Dali Ndreu and Liri Gega red-handed and placed them in the dock, the Yugoslavs jumped up in rage, and so did Khrushchev. He sent an urgent radiogram to the Soviet ambassador in Tirana Krylov to intervene with me to ensure that the enemies and traitors were not condemned. These were precisely those days of November 1956 when, as I said above, Tito delivered his notorious speech at Pula in which, amongst other things, he called openly for the overthrow of the leadership of the PLA and for my condemnation. Khrushchev sent Krylov with two main instructions: we were not to reply sternly to Tito's speech and not to punish the captured agents who were rendering account before the people's court. We very quickly gave Khrushchev and Tito the answer: in regard to the first instruction, we published articles in the press in which we fired off all our batteries against Tito, Titoism and the speech at Pula; in regard to the second instruction, we gave the agents and traitors the punishment they deserved.

This was bitter medicine for Khrushchev and Tito, but they did not stop their anti-Albanian actions. A little after this, the flight of Panajot Plaku to Yugoslavia was achieved. However, the Titoites were soon to be convinced that they could do us nothing from outside, either through the «op-positions» the Dusan Mugosas tried to set up with the reactionary emigrées, or with the spleen the abject traitor Panajot Plaku vented on us through a so-called clandestine radio, so they sought Khrushchev's help. The Yugoslavs hoped that Khrushchev would exercise pressure on us and influence us so that we would accept Panajot Plaku in Albania with the aim that he, together with their agents and other secret enemies, could carry out the plots and plans of the Yugoslav and the Soviet secret services from inside. Sensing the advantages of this course, Khrushchev was ready to collaborate with Tito, as he did over the Polish and Hungarian question, to mislead the work of the Party Conference of Tirana (1956), etc., therefore, he did not fail to intervene for a «conciliation» with the traitor. As the first step, he told us that he was considering admitting him to the Soviet Union, since Plaku himself had expressed this desire in a letter he had sent Khrushchev.

«He is a traitor,» I told Khrushchev, «and if you accept him in your country, we shall break off our friendship with you. If you do accept him, you must hand him over to us so we can hang him in the middle of the square in Tirana.» {1 See Enver Hoxha, «The Khrushchevites» (Memoirs), Tirana 1980, p. 354-356, Eng. ed.}

This was the end of these old agents of the Titoite clique and, obviously, also of the hopes which both the Titoites and the Khrushchevites had based on them.

However, this by no means meant that from now on we would no longer have to deal with other attempts, traps and plots. Therefore, on no occasion did we permit any lowering of vigilance. On the contrary, our Party of Labour continued persistently with the ideological and political struggle against Titoism, at a time when our contradictions with the Soviet revisionist leadership were steadily mounting. We were heading for the confrontation of June 1960 in Bucharest.

Just as had occurred continually with the Titoites, the Khrushchevites, too, did not spare either their means, their pressure and blackmail or their agents, recruited long before, on the eve of and after this great confrontation. The pawn with which they made their opening move was Liri Belishova. In the summer of that year Belishova was in Beijing with a parliamentary delegation, at the time that the meeting of the World Federation of Trade Unions was being held there. Contrary to every party rule and norm, the profound contradictions which had developed in the ranks of the international communist and workers' movement between the Chinese and the Soviets emerged openly at that meeting.

In opposition to the stand of the leadership of our Party, which did not want to pronounce itself prematurely on these contradictions, Liri went to the Soviet embassy and reported all that the Chinese had told her. We sent Liri Belishova two letters, one to Beijing and one that reached her on the way back to Moscow, in which we criticized her for her stand in Beijing and explained the stand she must take in Moscow. However, Liri Belishova, as an agent of the Soviets, not only did not follow the advice of the leadership of the Party, but met Kozlov, talked with him, listened to him and even handed over to the Khrushchevites our letters (radiograms) which, when we asked her for them, she told us she «had burnt».

When she returned to Albania, Liri Belishova took Comrade Hysni aside and said to him, «Let us keep Comrade Enver out of these clashes,» but Hysni denounced Liri. She had also met Mehmet Shehu and told him, «Don't talk about Khrushchev, because everything you say reaches his ears.» Mehmet Shehu reluctantly admitted this much later, when he saw that the leadership of the Party was condemning Liri Belishova. What other pressure Liri Belishova had exerted on him is not known.

Likewise, we do not know what Kosygin said to Mehmet Shehu when he was in hospital in Moscow for treatment. Mehmet Shehu told us that Kosygin had tried to convince him that China must be condemned and this «had angered» him, so he left the hospital and returned to Albania. Now it turns out that Mehmet Shehu, together with Fiqret Shehu, had been summoned to a meeting with Mikoyan at which Andropov and I think also the chief of security Shelepin were present and talked for four hours with them.

In the end, apparently, the Soviets decided that they should set Mehmet Shehu in action for the subjugation of the leadership of our Party. I say «in the end», because some months earlier, in February of that year, they not only hesitated, but did not even want to inform Mehmet Shehu of the quarrels which they had with the Chinese.

As I have written in my book of memoirs «The Khrushchevites», when we arrived in Moscow for a top-level meeting in the framework of the Comecon and the Warsaw Treaty, they informed me that Mikoyan sought an urgent meeting «with Enver Hoxha alone». I insisted that Mehmet Shehu should be present, too, and since despite their wishes I took Mehmet Shehu with me, the Soviets hesitated, frowned, but were faced «with an accomplished fact». {1 See Enver Hoxha, -The Khrushchevites» (Memoirs), Tirana 1980, pp. 387-389, Eng. ed.} In order to avoid angering Mehmet Shehu, they justified themselves for not inviting him to the meeting on the grounds that they had decided to speak «only with the first secretaries of sister parties». Now it turns out that this «reason» was a bluff. They did not want Mehmet Shehu to learn what had occurred, because they knew that he was the man of many agencies and might carry information to the Americans and the British.

However, the events evolved and in May-June the Soviets changed their tune. Meanwhile, Mehmet Shehu saw that the leadership of our Party was not going to tolerate Khrushchev's plans against Marxism-Leninism and the international communist and workers' movement any longer. Our Party worked out the platform for the stand it would take at Bucharest, retaining its right to present its views at the regular meeting of all parties (in November 1960 in Moscow). At that time Mehmet Shehu was in a quandary: whom to please and whom to displease? To place himself in opposition to the leadership of the Party was of no benefit to him, because he would suffer the fate of Liri Belishova and all the other anti-party enemies. However, as a man of many foreign secret agencies he had to take the Americans, the British and the Yugoslavs into his calculations, besides us and the Soviets.

Which way would this multiple agent turn in this complicated situation?!

However, a way out was presented to him. At this time Mehmet Shehu was sent to New York at the head of a government delegation to the UNO. He travelled on the British trans-Atlantic luxury liner «Queen Elizabeth». We knew that Tito, also, was travelling on that ship, but it never crossed our minds that Mehmet Shehu might meet Tito. Now we learn from his fellow-travellers who were his collaborators and are now in jail that Harry Fultz of the American CIA and Randolph Churchill, who was an Intelligence Service agent but figured on the passenger list as a journalist, were also aboard. During this trip of several days, Mehmet Shehu, being their agent, had secret meetings and talks with Tito, Fultz, and R. Churchill, informed them of the situation in and the stands of our Party, the acute contradictions which were arising with the Soviet Union and the stand which the leadership of our Party intended to take in Moscow.

The strategies of the three agencies, Yugoslav, American and British, were in accord and they suggested to their super-agent that he should unreservedly «support» the correct stands of the leadership of the Party, which would lead to the great breach and rupture with the Soviet Union. It would be no loss to them that we supported China. On the contrary, this «friendship» with their secret pro-American, pro-Titoite friends (such as Zhou Enlai, Liu Shaoqi and Deng Xiaoping) would serve their longer-range strategic plans (to involve us in the liberal policies of China, such as it began later with the Nixon-Zhou Enlai meeting, or when Zhou Enlai urged Beqir Balluku to act relying on a Yugoslavia-Rumania-Albania alliance), etc. Mehmet Shehu returned from the United States of America full of «courage» and became more catholic than the Pope. was unrestrained in his «defence» of the line of our Party against the plans and stands of Khrushchev and the revisionist Soviet leadership. Indeed, he organized «scenes» in order to boost himself and thoroughly cement our trust in him. When we were at the Meeting of 81 parties in Moscow, in November of that year, he proposed we should leave the house in which the Soviets had placed us because «they are capable of poisoning us». (He was afraid rather on his own account.) When we went to our embassy in Moscow, through the secret microphones which the Soviets had planted and which we discovered, he «transmitted» to them a fiery message eulogizing our Party and its first secretary, while using all the gravest insults against them for their disgraceful act in eaves-dropping on their close friends, such as the Party of Labour of Albania and its leaders. Mehmet Shehu stubbornly opposed our return by ship via the Black Sea and organized our return by train through Austria and Italy. We agreed to these measures, because we no longer trusted the Soviets, either, but with the zeal which he displayed he strengthened our trust in him and also protected himself. Nevertheless, Mehmet Shehu could not but be worried that he might pay with his head for the «betrayal» which he was committing against his Soviet patrons as a disobedient agent.

There was no lack of some hints and needling. In my book «The Khrushchevites» I have recorded that Kosygin said to me, «There are enemies in your leadership». {1 See Enver Hoxha, «The Khrushchevites» (Memoirs), Tirana p. 432, Eng. ed.} However, when I called on Mehmet Shehu to translate this to me better, because, although I understood Russian, I had never mastered those Cyrillic letters which hindered me from reading and learning it well, Kosygin shut his mouth and said that I «had not understood him properly». There, too, I have written about the pressure exerted on us by the Soviet militarymen who had an argument with Mehmet Shehu, too. Now another explanation can be given for why Khrushchev at our last meeting said to us: «This is how MacMillan wanted to speak to me», at which Mehmet Shehu jumped to his feet and we broke off the meeting. Apparently, when Khrushchev mentioned the Englishman MacMillan, Mehmet Shehu feared that he might open a wound which would cause him great pain.

After the Meeting of 81 parties, Khrushchev and company tried to patch up their relations with us. This they tried to do at our 4th Congress, with the letters they sent us, as well as through the Chinese, etc. They also tried to turn us to their course through economic and military pressures, but they failed in all directions. We maintained our immovable stand. We expelled the Soviets from the base at Vlora; they cut off their economic and military aid, even broke off diplomatic relations.

Precisely at the extremely difficult and delicate moments which our Party and country were experiencing in 1960 we uncovered the dangerous plot of Teme Sejko, hatched up and supported by the American 6th Fleet, the renegades of Belgrade and the Greek chauvinist circles. In collaboration with one another, these forces of darkness had thrown into action their long-standing agent Teme Sejko and a number of other agents around him to prepare and cause «internal» disorders to break out in Albania which would serve as a pretext for a foreign military intervention against our country. However, although we were deeply involved in the struggle against our new Khrushchevite enemies, we had not relaxed for a moment our vigilance towards our old enemies — the imperialists, the chauvinists and the Belgrade renegades. We discovered their plot, smashed it and, at the 4th Congress of the Party, {1 The 4th Congress of the PLA carried out its proceedings from 13-20 February 1961.} spoke about it and publicly denounced it and its organizers. At those moments the Soviets pretended to be totally ignorant of and even alarmed about it, so much so that Gomulka asked that a commission from the Warsaw Treaty be set to «verify» things, which we turned down! What all this alarm of the Soviets was about, this we did not know at that time.

Now it is fully proved that at a time when the Americans, the Yugoslav and Greek chauvinists were secretly hatching up the plot of Teme Sejko and company, the Soviets got air of this plot through their secret agents and made the most of it as a very favourable occasion to maintain and strengthen their positions in Albania, which were being shaken.

Let us not forget that the Soviet fleet was still at Vlora. Let us not forget that those were days and months when we were at daggers drawn with the Soviets. The Soviets sensed that their end was coming in Albania and feared that their naval fleet might be driven from Vlora. We had just launched the attack in Bucharest and were preparing the main and general attack for the Meeting of communist and workers' parties which was to be held in Moscow in November that year. To forestall the evil the Soviets threatened us in many ways, indeed, in one letter they wrote that we must extinguish the «spark» which was kindled at Bucharest. {1 See Enver Hoxha, Works, vol. 19, p. 128, Alb. ed. 616}. We continued resolutely on our course. Then, they tried to find a way out through another more «powerful» and more «menacing» means: through their secret agents Mehmet Shehu, Beqir Balluku and Kadri Hazbiu they tried to employ the truth about Teme Sejko's plot as a means of pressure and blackmail on us in order to make us kowtow to the Soviets. They even gave Mehmet Shehu, Beqir Balluku and Kadri Hazbiu additional information ensured through the KGB, which confirmed the threat of an attack prepared by the West and the Yugoslavs against our country. After this the Soviets and their agents expected that we would fall into the trap and see our «salvation from the danger» in relying on the Soviets, especially on their fleet in Vlora. Hence, with the card of the imperialist-Yugoslav plot the Soviets said to us: Don't do anything silly, the attack is prepared, imperialism will gobble you up, therefore come to your senses, because you need us! What a masquerade! These plans and base calculations by the Khrushchevites in 1960 about the plot of Teme Sejko are very similar to the plans which the Titoites concocted with Koçi Xoxe and Beqir Balluku at the end of 1947 and the beginning of 1948, that we were allegedly under threat of a Greek attack and, therefore, the Yugoslav divisions should come «to defend and save us»!

However, just as we foiled the Titoites' plots and secret plans in 1947 and 1948, we also foiled the plots of the imperialists, the Yugoslavs and the Soviets in 1960. On the basis of many facts and documents which we discovered, we handed Teme Sejko and his network of agents over to the people's court where they admitted through their own mouths, not only their participation in the plot, but also the work that they had done as agents for the Yugoslav, Greek and American secret services.

Naturally, our foiling and public denunciation of the imperialist-Yugoslav plot would alarm the Soviets, as it did. The smashing of the first, American-Yugoslav-Greek, plot automatically blew up the second plot which the Khrushchevites, and their agents Mehmet Shehu, Beqir Balluku and others had hatched up in secrecy. The Soviets saw that after this they had their days numbered in Albania. And true enough, very soon we ousted the Soviet naval fleet from Vlora, without it ever crossing our mind that we could rely on it to «save ourselves». This fleet of the Khrushchevites had already become just like the American 6th Fleet in the Mediterranean and we knew that our salvation would not come from relying on it, but from expelling it, as we did.

The fact that we uncovered and foiled this plot right at the outset made Mehmet Shehu draw in his horns. Meanwhile, our Party pursued the course of Marxism-Leninism and Mehmet Shehu «endorsed» its line, indeed, he greatly advertised his role in these situations and, of course, in the eyes of the Americans and the Yugoslavs posed as if it was he that inspired this course. From the plans which they had made and the secret contacts which they maintained, the Americans and the Yugoslavs knew this, while all the Western secret agencies were in agreement that their «boy» should thunder against them with such statements as «We are dancing in the wolf's mouth», etc., etc. They accepted any abuse, content that their agent was climbing higher and higher and might turn the helm of our Party and state towards the West. Mehmet Shehu zealously continued the «struggle» against the Soviet revisionists, but proceeding from other purposes and aims, quite the opposite of the lofty aims of the Party which worked for the defence of Marxism-Leninism and the supreme interests of our people and socialist Homeland.

The events of Czechoslovakia in August 1968 came about and the Party decided to denounce the Warsaw Treaty, to take our country out of this ill-famed treaty de jure, although de facto, we had withdrawn from it at the end of 1960. On this occasion, Mehmet Shehu delivered the speeches as prime minister and, of course, he presented this to his patrons as his personal victory. The American agency (and those linked with it, first of all, the Titoites) thought that Albania was left isolated and undefended, and since China was far away, it considered that the time had come when our country would turn its face towards the West.

The trump card of the Western and Titoite agencies, Mehmet Shehu, was brought into action. In 1972 he went to Paris for an operation, accompanied by the same team that accompanied him to the UNO, plus his wife Fiqret Shehu. There he made contact with a top figure of the American CIA, who said to him: «What are you doing? You are getting old, you must act!»

Mehmet Shehu reported to him about the situation and the plots which were being prepared (by Beqir Balluku and Abdyl Këllezi and company). The CIA recommended that he should act, but without compromising himself. It proposed three variants for the elimination of Enver Hoxha: 1) through a motor accident; 2) through shooting with a rifle from a distance; or 3) with delayed-action poison. It was left to Mehmet Shehu to put into action the variant he considered most feasible.

Through Feçor Shehu, Mehmet Shehu received the same instructions from the Yugoslav UDB which was completely in agreement with the CIA. In Paris Mehmet Shehu was also given a sophisticated radio receiver-transmitter which his eldest son, who was an electronics engineer, installed in his house, ready to function. In fact, Mehmet Shehu had turned, or was to turn, his whole family into a nest of agents, a family of vipers. As we said, Fiqret Shehu had been recruited during the war by Dusan Mugosa and had the pseudonym FISARI, without taking into account what she might have done earlier when she went to Italy on a one- or two-year course during the occupation, or what Liri Gega (and Smith {1 Officer of the British military mission in Albania, secret agent of the Intelligence Service, a friend of Liri Gega and Mustafa Gjinishi. During the National Liberation War he was attached to the Staff of the 1st Division of the ANLA. See Enver Hoxha «The Anglo-American Threat to Albania» (Memoirs), Tirana 1982, p. 224, Eng. ed.}) might have done with her when they worked together in the 1st Army Corps. Eventually Mehmet Shehu had made his second son Skënder a collaborator and when he went abroad (especially when he went to study in Sweden), Mehmet Shehu charged him to establish contact with the CIA and act as a liaison agent, while activating his younger son and his wife in the direction of a foreign embassy in Tirana.

Of course, the elements recruited by Mehmet Shehu over a long period, or the hostile and immoral elements of his own family would not suffice for him to accomplish the evil work the CIA and the UDB demanded of him. He would aim to extend the network of agents and conspirators everywhere. To this end in 1972 he was directed and ordered by the American CIA to work out concrete plans to overturn the situation in Albania in favour of the West, to set in motion and urge in this direction the agents known or unknown to him, regardless of whose they were, Yugoslav, Greek, British, Italian, and others, but avoiding compromising himself.

Thus began the implementation, of the ramified conspiratorial plan organized under cover by Mehmet Shehu:

I. The hostile activity of Fadil Paçrami and his group in the field of culture, art and the radio and television service for the degeneration of the line in these fields. However, as is known, the Party quickly dealt with this group and its activity. Mehmet Shehu hastened to wash his hands of them, indeed, he thundered loudly against people of art and the youth in order to realize his anti-party aims in this way, as he had done during the War, to create antagonism in the relations and the links of the Party with these strata.

II. In 1973 the group of Beqir Balluku was set in motion. It prepared the military putsch through the black theses, «the theory of slipping away», of abandoning the coast and the cities to imperialist aggressors, the patrons of Mehmet Shehu. Be-qir Balluku was completely unmasked. Even Petrit Dume and Hito Çako who were in the plot, abandoned him. Mehmet Shehu, who was the head of the plot and pulled the strings behind the scenes (now it turns out that all the strategic and tactical plans had been worked out contrary to the plans of the Council of Defence and these black materials, as they were called when we discovered them, had been approved by him), tried to save Petrit Dume and Hito Çako.

They had great hopes that through Mehmet Shehu their «heads would be saved», as he told them in the Plenum of the Central Committee which met at that time on these problems, and they did not give Mehmet Shehu away, but he could not save them from the danger for fear of damaging himself.

III. Meanwhile Mehmet Shehu, this time more directly, set in motion his henchmen Abdyl Këllezi, Koço Theodhosi and Kiço Ngjela to carry out sabotage in the economic field, especially in the oil industry and agriculture, to disorganize the economy of the country by beginning to work out and introduce forms of Yugoslav self-administration. However, as is known, Mehmet Shehu failed in these three directions.

Throughout this period Tito, who was following the situation attentively, thought that since he had his agent in the leadership of our Party and state, after the fall of Rankovic in Yugoslavia and the exposure of the barbarities which he had perpetrated in Kosova, as well as after the situations which were created with our leaving the Warsaw Treaty, he could make some concessions in regard to Kosova and our relations with it. Kosova began to breathe a little more freely, Albanian schools were opened, the University of Prishtina was set up, cultural relations, visits to one another and other activities began. Tito and company cherished the old dream that through Kosova they could influence the liberal forces in Albania and, in this way, make possible the union of Albania with Kosova in the framework of Yugoslavia. When the leaders of Kosova told Tito: «The Albanians are fanning up nationalist sentiments and speaking against you,» he replied: «That's not your business, let them abuse me if they want to...» Tito said this because he knew that in Albania he had Mehmet Shehu, who, after three failures, was regrouping the other conspirators, especially in the Ministry of Internal Affairs, with Kadri Hazbiu, Feçor Shehu and some others.

Nevertheless, Mehmet Shehu needed time to hatch up new plots.

Meanwhile Tito died. A situation of political and economic insecurity was created in Yugoslavia. The world capitalist crisis had gripped Yugoslavia, too, which was up to its ears in debt. The situation was seething in Kosova more than anywhere else on account of the Great-Serb oppression, the unemployment and the gloomy prospects for the working people who saw that in their Motherland, in socialist Albania, the situation was quite different. Thus, Kosova did not serve as a bridgehead for the penetration of Titoite selfadministration and ideological degeneration into Albania, but Albania showed Kosova the brilliant features of true socialism in our country. And this it did through normal, official bilateral relations and contacts with Kosova and not through secret agents, because, first, this was not the line of our Party and, second, the Yugoslav secret agency (through Feçor Shehu) was at the head of the organs of the Ministry of Internal Affairs. Therefore, the «theses» of the Yugoslavs about the alleged interference of Albania by means of secret agents for the organization of demonstrations in Kosova have no foundation. The American and Yugoslav secret agencies began to be worried lest Kosova escape from their control, lest Albania intervene, possibly, as they thought, in collaboration with Bulgaria and the Soviet Union.

Meanwhile, the situation in Kosova was becoming ever more difficult and complicated. The people of Kosova and the whole Albanian population living on their own lands in Montenegro and Macedonia were seeing more and more each day that in the Titoite reality their legitimate rights, indeed, even those rights written in the Yugoslav Constitution, were being violated and denied.

The profound economic and political crisis which had swept the whole of Yugoslavia was manifesting itself in more tragic colours in Kosova. Not only was the standard of living several times lower than the average of Yugoslavia, but the gap was being ceaselessly widened to the detriment of the Kosovars; unemployment, especially among the Albanian youth there, was wreaking havoc. Whereas 10-15 years earlier the demagogue Tito had laid the blame on Rankovic for the mass expulsions and displacements of Kosovars to Turkey and the Western countries, now the Kosovars were seeing that they were forced to leave their lands and betake themselves to the markets of the West, just as in the «time of Rankovic». At that time Rankovic drove them out, now unemployment was driving them out just the same, indeed, in even greater numbers. Hence, it was not one or five Rankovices that were to blame, but the Yugoslav reality, the Titoite «self-administrative socialism». The people of Kosova were bound to become conscious of this reality, just as they did.

However, these were not the only reasons which were bringing the cauldron to boilingpoint. Above all, the people of Kosova and the whole Albanian population living in their own territories in Yugoslavia saw and felt deeply that in Titoite Yugoslavia they were treated as second-rate citizens, their legitimate rights were trampled on and they were insulted and despised by the Titoites for what has always been dearest to the heart of the Albanian: his national pride and dignity. Precisely in such situations which had long been boiling up, the demonstrations took place in Kosova at the beginning of 1981. The Great-Serbs and the Yugoslav UDB were alarmed, sent in the army and crushed the demonstrations with tanks. Hundreds of people were killed and wounded. A conflagration dangerous to the internal situation of Yugoslavia, now shaken by both economic crises and political crises, broke out. These savage repressive measures caused a great sensation in international opinion. Albania maintained an open stand, as resolute as it was wise.

Apart from the slanders that these demonstrations had allegedly been inspired by Albania, the Yugoslavs had to take immediate measures to «discredit» the «Stalinist» Albanian leadership in order to disturb and overturn the sound situation in Albania, as well as to confuse the patriotic-revolutionary forces in Kosova.

They demanded that their agent Mehmet Shehu acted. The Yugoslav UDB was in collaboration with the CIA and was aware of its directive for the liquidation of Enver Hoxha, Therefore, they demanded that Mehmet Shehu send his wife urgently to Paris. The demonstrations took place in March, while she went to Paris in April 1981. There an envoy from Çalamani (Mugosa himself had died, but his mission as an agent «lived on») presented himself to her and gave her the poison which had to be administered immediately to Enver Hoxha.

Figret Shehu and Mehmet Shehu had racked their brains together about when, where and how they would act with the variants which the CIA had suggested to them, and had found as the most feasible variant the administration of the delayed-action poison, which could be carried out when we paid each other visits. In the conditions under which I travelled the motor accident was ruled out, while the attempt with a rifle was too sensational and With unforeseeable dangers.

The order which the Yugoslavs gave Mehmet Shehu to act immediately and quickly according to the third variant found him unprepared. Mehmet Shehu was afraid, did not like being placed in a corner with no room to move. Therefore, he appealed to his major patron, the American CIA. Figret Shehu began to visit the capitals of Europe — Vienna, Stockholm, Copenhagen. Both in Stockholm and in Denmark she met representatives of the CIA and put forward Mehmet Shehu's idea that they should not act hastily, as the Yugoslavs demanded, because they were not well prepared; the poisoning or physical liquidation of Enver Hoxha could be put off until March 1982 (during the winter holidays), while up till that time they could undertake some action which might cause a split in the Party and encourage the liberal element. The representative of the CIA discussed the matter with his centre and at the second meeting, this time in Denmark gave his approval for Mehmet Shehu's variant.

In this context Mehmet Shehu arranged the engagement of his son to the daughter of a family in the circle of which there were 6 or 7 fugitive war criminals, including the notorious agent of the CIA Arshi Pipa. Such an engagement could not fail to attract the attention of the public. And it was done precisely with the aim of attracting public attention and causing a sensation. If it were accepted by the Party, it would lead to splits and liberalism among others, too, in the Party, the Youth organization, etc. If it were not accepted by the Party, measures would be taken against Mehmet Shehu, not imprisonment, of course, but demotion, removal from his position or even expulsion from the Party. This would cause a sensation and the Yugoslavs could use it, as they needed it for their propaganda purposes to discredit the leadership of the Party of Labour of Albania and especially Enver Hoxha, who, as they have repeated over and over again, is «eliminating» his collaborators, as Stalin did.

However, the plans did not work out as Mehmet Shehu had intended. The Party intervened immediately, the engagement was broken off, Mehmet Shehu was criticized by the comrades for this major political mistake, he was required to make a profound selfcriticism to find the sources of such an error and it was left that this would be done after the 8th Congress of the Party. {1 The 8th Congress of the PLA took place on November 1-8, 1931.} He did not expect this. He tried to make «some other mistakes»: he completely neglected his report for the 8th Congress of the Party, presented it late and with flagrant political errors and the Political Bureau rejected it. Mehmet Shehu wanted to make a «selfcriticism» at the Congress over the engagement of his son (his aim was to cause an upset in the Congress), but it was refused, too. In the Congress he purposely sat like a «repentant sinner» and this was so obvious to the delegates and the TV viewers that they began to ask one another why.

Meanwhile, the question of Kosova was becoming dangerous. The Yugoslavs were being unmasked before international public opinion, while the authority of our country was rising. The Yugoslavs saw that nothing happened either before the Congress or after it. Mehmet Shehu delivered the report to the Congress, he was elected to the Political Bureau and no measure was taken against him, as the Yugoslavs hoped, to demote him or to remove him from the function he had in the state. Once the Congress was over, perhaps Mehmet Shehu informed the Yugoslavs that even after the delivery of his self-criticism he was being treated just the same. From what he had understood from his talks with us the measure of sanction would be of an internal party character. This was of no benefit to the Titoites, the Great-Serbs and the Yugoslav UDB, who were expecting and wanting disorder to occur in Albania at all costs. Therefore, on the eve of the meeting of the Political Bureau, at which the grave political mistake of Mehmet Shehu was to be discussed, the Yugoslav embassy in Tirana, acting on orders which it had received from Belgrade, sent its agent and contact man Feçor Shehu to Mehmet Shehu to transmit the «ultimatum» of the UDB that «Enver Hoxha must be killed at all costs, even in the meeting, even if Mehmet Shehu himself is killed.» So hard-pressed were the UDB, the Great-Serb and Titoite clique with the situation in Kosova, so gloomy seemed the future, that they decided to «destroy» their trump card, their superagent, provided only that something spectacular would occur which would «shake socialist Albania and the Party of Labour of Albania to their foundations»!

At ten o'clock at night, on December 16, 1981, Feçor Shehu went to Mehmet Shehu's home and transmitted the order of their secret centre.

On December 17, the discussion commenced in the meeting of the Political Bureau. All the comrades, old and new, took part in the discussion, and resolutely condemned Mehmet Shehu's act of engaging his son to a girl in whose family there were 6 to 7 war criminals.

They expressed their dissatisfaction with Mehmet Shehu's self-criticism, demanded that he made it more profound and disclosed where the cause of such a mistake lay, asked him many questions, reminded him that he had made mistakes during the National Liberation War also that he had placed himself above the Party, they spoke about his unrestrained conceit and arrogance towards the cadres and towards virtually all his closest collaborators in the work of the government, the Political Bureau, etc. (On the day following the suicide, all these contributions to the discussion, which had been tape-recorded, were heard just as they were made by the whole Plenum of the Central Committee and the meetings of party activists.)

The criticisms by the members of the Political Bureau were strong, open and bolshevik, but only «the recording of a serious reprimand on his registration document» was demanded as sanction. This was the spirit in which I, too, had prepared my contribution in which I outlined the history of Mehmet Shehu's mistakes, beginning from the period of the war (this contribution, too, was heard by the Plenum of the Central Committee and by the meetings of party activists as it would have been delivered following the contributions of other comrades). However, because the meeting went on late, my contribution was not delivered that day. Thus, it was left that the meeting would continue the following day. At the end of the discussion on the first day. I said to Mehmet Shehu:

«Reflect deeply all night and tomorrow tell us in the Political Bureau from what motives you have proceeded. Your alibi for the engagement does not hold water, something else has impelled you in this reprehensible act.»

What I said alarmed Mehmet Shehu, he suspected that the crime which he was preparing might have been discovered. The «bold» Mehmet Shehu thought all night about how to escape from the tight spot, worked out and applied a plan of his own. Apparently, he judged matters in this way: «I am as good as dead, the best thing is to save what I can,» and he decided to act like his friend Nako Spiru, to kill himself, thinking the Party would bury this «statesman», this «legendary leader», this «partisan and fighter in Spain» with honours, would not sully his reputation but would say that «the gun went off accidentally» (as he suggested in the letter which he left), and thus, at least, he would not lose his past and his family would not suffer.

Together with his wife he flushed the poison down the WC and charged his eldest son with dismantling and removing the compromising parts of the radio which he had installed for him.

Fiqret Shehu, as the agent she was (she who trembled and wept over nothing), agreed to the suicide of her husband coolly and cynically, provided only that their «historic» past and she and her sons were saved.

However, they had reckoned their account without the innkeeper. As soon as they informed me about Mehmet Shehu's final act, within moments I proposed that his suicide should be condemned, that he had acted as an enemy, and the Political Bureau expressed its unanimous condemnation of the act of this enemy. Not only the leadership and the Party, but our whole people considered this a hostile act and maintained a revolutionary stand. The Party and people continued with enthusiasm, indeed, with greater determination and unity, the work for the implementation of the decisions of the 8th Congress of the Party.

The UDB and the CIA were left biting their fingers. The foreign news agencies related the fact as we had given it, that Mehmet Shehu «committed suicide in a nervous crisis». Here and there some comment secretly paid for by the Yugoslavs was made. However, even the Yugoslavs were unable to exploit this act in their official press apart from charging a student's newspaper in Zagreb to write about the «drama» which had occurred at the meeting of the Albanian leadership (according to the version which the UDB had planned). According to this newspaper, «...Mehmet Shehu fired some shots with a Chinese revolver of this or that type and calibre (!), but Enver Hoxha's comrades killed him. The fate of Enver Hoxha is not known...»

A scenario modelled on westerns with gunfights which occurred in the saloons at the time! But what could they do? This is what they wanted! But their trump card, the super-agent of the CIA and the UDB in Albania, was thrown away for no advantage.

Albania has always supported Kosova and the population of other Albanian regions of Yugoslavia in their legitimate rights, but Kosova, all the Albanians who rose in demonstrations, do not realize what colossal assistance they gave Albania by forcing the Yugoslav UDB to play its trump card and destroy its last «great hope» of overthrowing the Marxist-Leninist leadership in Albania, which had continually unmasked and was relentlessly unmasking the Titoite betrayal, self-administration, non-alignment, this filthy agency of American and British imperialism, of international reaction, of social-democracy and whoever else you like.

Together with Mehmet Shehu, the agencies of the imperialists, social-imperialists and others, like the Yugoslav UDB, received a blow which they will feel for a long time.

Their network of agents which had Mehmet Shehu in the centre was uncovered thread by thread, attacked in all its joints and connections, and everything which had to do with this terrible network of long-standing secret agents and conspirators is now in our hands.

Here I must point out that the dangerous plot of Mehmet Shehu, just as other plotters and plotting groups before it, were discovered through the strength and vigilance of the Party and its leadership and none by the State Security. Why? Because, as is known, Koçi Xoxe, a notorious agent of Tito-Rankovic, who was condemned as such for crimes which have been dealt with in detail in this book, was minister of the internal affairs until 1948. Then, he was succeeded by Mehmet Shehu to be followed later by Kadri Hazbiu and more recently, by Feçor Shehu. Unfortunately for the people and the Party none of them was suspected to be an agent, while the three of them, just like Koçi Xoxe, were active agents, mainly of the Yugoslav UDB, who covered up the dirty linen and crimes of one another and some of their collaborators around them, and for almost four decades kept hidden from the Party all information about the espionage activity of one another. None of these plotters, Mehmet Shehu included, openly opposed the line of the Party, because they were afraid of the Party, its unity and the Party-people unity. The uncovering of all these plots, especially the criminal plot of Mehmet Shehu, as well as the information and documents now in the hands of the Party, some of which have been dealt with in these notes, go to prove that Mehmet

Shehu and his collaborators acted simply as agents behind the back of the Party and its leadership, not as open opponents of the line or policy of the Party, but as plotters in the service of foreign secret services. Their mission was to act and plot secretly so as to change the sound situation in Albania, to overthrow the people's state power and clear the way for their foreign patrons, who for more than 40 years, not to go even further back, have always hatched up sinister plans and have had criminal aims, to violate the independence of Albania, to deprive the Albanian people of their freedom and rights won at the expense of so much blood and sweat. After the final traumatic blow we dealt them, the foreign secret services, and the Titoite UDB among them, in their rage and despair turned to forms and methods which we had long experience of and from which they themselves had never seen any good: they tried to feel our pulse and shake us through a group of hired mercenaries and bandits! Apparently, they forgot what «victories» they had scored with the saboteurs and criminals they had sent us in the first years after Liberation! But we, too, were quick to riposte to them: if in the 50's there were cases when we needed even 4-5 days, and at times even more, to detect and wipe out their bands of saboteurs now we needed no more than 5 hours to discover and wipe out the terrorist band of Xhevdet Mustafa, which was sent by the UDB. This ought to serve as a lesson to the enemies of Albania abroad, that such bands of criminals, large or small, from the East or the West, will be wiped out mercilessly by a people who are all armed and on guard. This is what has occurred and always will occur with any one who dares to carry out the adventurous orders of imperialists and revisionists! We are well aware that even after this the foreign secret services, and together with them the UDB, will not sit idle. However, they will never catch us asleep. We will never be lacking in vigilance.

Let everyone understand clearly: the walls of our fortress are of unshakeable granite rock. This is in general outline the history of our relations with the CPY and the revisionist Yugoslav state: on their part, it is a history of interference and traps, of ceaseless plots to damage our Party and socialist state, while, on our part, it is a history of just and consistent struggle by our Party and people determined never to fall for any of their traps and plots, to uncover and foil them before they cause us serious harm. For socialist Albania to develop and march forward we defined and consistently followed the road which seemed to us to be the most correct one — the road which is based on the teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, and which has always fulfilled the loftiest aspirations and desires of our brave, hard-working and revolutionary people. This has been and is the road of the constant consolidation of the leading role of the Party and of the active participation of the masses in all the life of the country, of the defence of the independence of the Homeland, of the deepening of the all-round revolution in all fields, of the gradual and constant raising of the well-being of the masses, etc. All along this time, our numerous enemies, and the Yugoslav Titoites in particular, resorted to all means of pressure to swerve us from this course, sometimes through threats, sometimes «pitying us» or accusing us of being «on a wrong», «dogmatic», «Stalinist road», etc., etc.

We never listened to this «advice» or «admonishments» of the enemies, but followed consistently the road we had mapped out, conscious of its correctness. Only time was to prove and our people were to judge whether we had gone in the right or wrong direction.

And tune, the reality, has long proved and continues to prove with the utmost clarity who was right and who was wrong.

The so much advertised creature of Tito — the «self-administrative» Yugoslavia of «specific socialism», has been totally engulfed by the gravest crisis in its history and is now in a very grave situation with no way out.

The Yugoslav system has been reduced to bad shape, the development of events has torn down all masks and dispelled all illusions. The external pompous appearances, the misleading advertisements of a «well-being such as can be found in no other place» (!), of a «Yugoslavia of freedom and abundance» (!) have left the place to all-round crisis, poverty and growing unemployment, galloping inflation, and increasing shortages of even the most essential goods and articles of broad consumption, etc.

Just as they did with Tito in his last breath, the imperialists and social-imperialists are doing their utmost to give the Yugoslav system a new lease of life, to keep it alive, although this system is wholly gangrened. No blood transfusion, either from Washington, Moscow or whatever international bank or fund, can save it. This is the logical end of all revisionist theory and practice. The imperialist and social-imperialist creditors take the money from their safes, not because they ache to help the peoples of Yugoslavia out of their misery, but because they want to protect their political and economic interest in Yugoslavia, to expand or consolidate the domains Tito has long ago sold them in return for the credits he has received from them. But if for a period of time it seemed as if Yugoslavia was to gain in this dangerous game, now the time has come for Yugoslavia to put itself up for auction to the imperialists and social-imperialists. A first-class borrower, shaken to its very foundations in all respects, with no clear perspective, without the necessary means and forces to find the road of salvation — such is the present-day Titoite self-administrative Yugoslavia.

We cannot watch without concern this extremely grave and dangerous situation, not only for the fraternal peoples of Yugoslavia, but also for peace and security in the Balkans and beyond the Balkans. We have never wished those peoples ill, on the contrary we have always been for good neighbourly relations with them. In vain Tito, and company accused us — and his present-day successors follow him in this, of creating turbulent situations and interfering in their internal affairs. No, the evil seed is in their midst, they have planted and tended it to grow with their own hands, so let them find it and fight it there where they have it.

Quite the opposite is the case with our country, with our course of the construction of socialism. Consistently applying the Marxist-Leninist principles in the construction and leadership of the entire life of the country, socialist Albania has marched with sure steps ahead, without holding its hand out to anyone. We have come up against many difficulties and obstacles, have grappled with them fearlessly, have been fully aware of and accepted privations and sacrifices, while always, like a thrifty family, going by the principle of building and enjoying what we build, not only for ourselves and just for today but going about it in such a way that our life and that of the new generations become ever better and at the same time, the future, the life of the coming generations, be ever happier, richer and more secure. Our wonderful people have understood the road the Party has shown them, and aware of it, have mobilized all their mental and physical energies to turn the teachings and directives of the Party into reality. Every generation in our country is fighting and working so as to bequeath to the future generations an ever stronger Albania, an Albania permanently free and independent, with a beautiful present and with clear and brilliant perspectives.

So, with the Party at the head, having its Marxist-Leninist line as our guiding compass, we will always go on working vigilantly, further tempering unity, marching ahead, with the Party and people united as one, so as to keep the name of our heroic Party always honoured, to raise the prestige of socialist Albania ever higher, to preserve the sacred independence of our Homeland intact. This has been and remains the lofty mission of our Party of Labour.

To this mission, to the good of the people and socialism, we have devoted and will devote all our life, all our forces and energies.

1981-1982

In the Cominform Bureau it was the people of Malenkov (Yudin), which ensured that the loyal Stalinist Albanians were not included member of the Cominform ! The hostile attitude of the Soviet revisionists against the Albanians was an example of the whole hostile attitude towards all the Stalinist forces within the world communist movement at that time. And that it is what was exploited by enemies of the Soviet such as Tito who deepened his revisionist subversive activities on behalf of Western imperialism. Stalin gave Tito the right answer and dealt Yugoslav revisionism a heavy blow, and thus all the reactionary forces around the world who supported Tito openly and hiddenly. It was the first time in the history of socialism that the first revisionism in power, the Titoism, the Western bourgeois socialism was unmasked and combated by the dictatorship of the proletariat, by the Cominform , by the world proletariat , thus on a world scale.

Stalinism-Hoxhaism is the doctrine of the struggle against modern revisionism in power. This is one of those foundations of Stalinism-Hoxhaism.

In the struggle for the defense of comrade Stalin, it was Enver Hoxha who unified the Marxist-Leninist Movement against Titoism on a world scale in general, and against the Yugoslav agency within the inner ranks of the PLA and the Albanian State, in particular. It was Enver Hoxha, who raised this banner of Stalin after his death and who carried this banner across the globe. Comrade Enver Hoxha was the only one in the world, who denounced Beria and his anti-Stalinist crimes in relation to the question of the relationship between Titoite Yugoslavia and Socialist Albania.

The Albanians owed Stalin and the Cominform a lot. In his second meeting with Stalin in March / April 1949, Enver Hoxha wrote:

"In the light of these documents [Resolution of the Cominform and letter of the Central Committee of the CPSU (B) to the Yugoslav leadership - editor's note] , which appeared at a very critical time for our party and our people right now, I told Comrade Stalin that the Central Committee became fully aware of the nature and objectives of the Yugoslav intervention in Albania " (Enver Hoxha , " with Stalin " , page 86, German edition) .

Tito and Khrushchev cooperated in attacking Albania both from outside and from inside Albania. Enver Hoxha disagreed with Khrushchev's will to rehabilitate the Titoist agents within the PAA. Khrushchev's aim was to inter alia using the XX . Congress put pressure on Albania and encouraged anti-party elements for subversive activities , namely to enforce the anti- Stalinist course of Khrushchevite and Titoist Revisionists in Albania, as Krushchev had already tried this in other people's democracies. Why Comrade Enver Hoxha took a strong stand against the traitor Beria ? Beria pursued the anti- Stalinist course of reconciliation with Yugoslavia with the support of Malenkov.

On September 24, 1982, comrade Enver Hoxha delivered a speech at the 4th Plenum of the CC of the PLA :

A SYNOPSIS OF THE SECRET ACTIVITY OF THE ENEMY MEHMET SHEHU

Within two-three days the whole Party was informed about and expressed full solidarity with it:

The dangerous plot of Mehmet Shehu, like the previous plots and groups of conspirators, was discovered by the forces and the vigilance of the Party and its leadership with Comrade Enver Hoxha at the head, and not by the state security, which was headed by active secret agents, mainly of the Yugoslav UDB, such as Koçi Xoxe, Mehmet Shehu, Kadri Hazbiu and Feçor Shehu who for nearly four decades withheld from the Party information about the secret activities carried out by each of them in succession, thus covering up their dirty crimes which they committed against our country and people. The discovery and defeat of this plot was a shattering blow which destroyed the diabolic plans of the imperialists and revisionists against socialist Albania.

Albania has always supported Kosova and the population of other Albanian regions of Yugoslavia in their legitimate rights, but Kosova, all the Albanians who rose in demonstrations, do not realize what colossal assistance they gave Albania by forcing the Yugoslav UDB to play its trump card and destroy its last «great hope» of overthrowing the Marxist-Leninist leadership in Albania, which had continually unmasked and was relentlessly unmasking the Titoite betrayal, self-administration, non-alignment, this filthy agency of American and British imperialism, of international reaction, of social-democracy and whoever else you like.

Together with Mehmet Shehu, the agencies of the imperialists, social-imperialists and others, like the Yugoslav UDB, received a blow which they will feel for a long time. The big main tumour was removed, the sound body of the Party was thoroughly cleansed. However, the Party knows that small microbes that remain may infect separate cells, new microbes may form in its sound body.

Therefore, we must never lower our vigilance. We need to be vigilant and to work to realize the plans, to continually raise the well-being of the masses, to further strengthen the unity of the Party and the people around it, to strengthen the defence of the Homeland, we need untiring work and vigilance, always vigilance, to defend the victories achieved through so much blood and sacrifices, the freedom, independence, the victories of socialism.

We must not forget that the enemy does not sleep, we must not forget that these victories which we have scored have been achieved on the basis of a correct Marxist-Leninist line, loyalty to the ideals of socialism and communism, the pursuing of the line of our great classics, Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin on the class struggle within the country and in the ranks of the Party, as well as against the external enemies, the imperialists and social-imperialists, world reaction and their secret agencies.

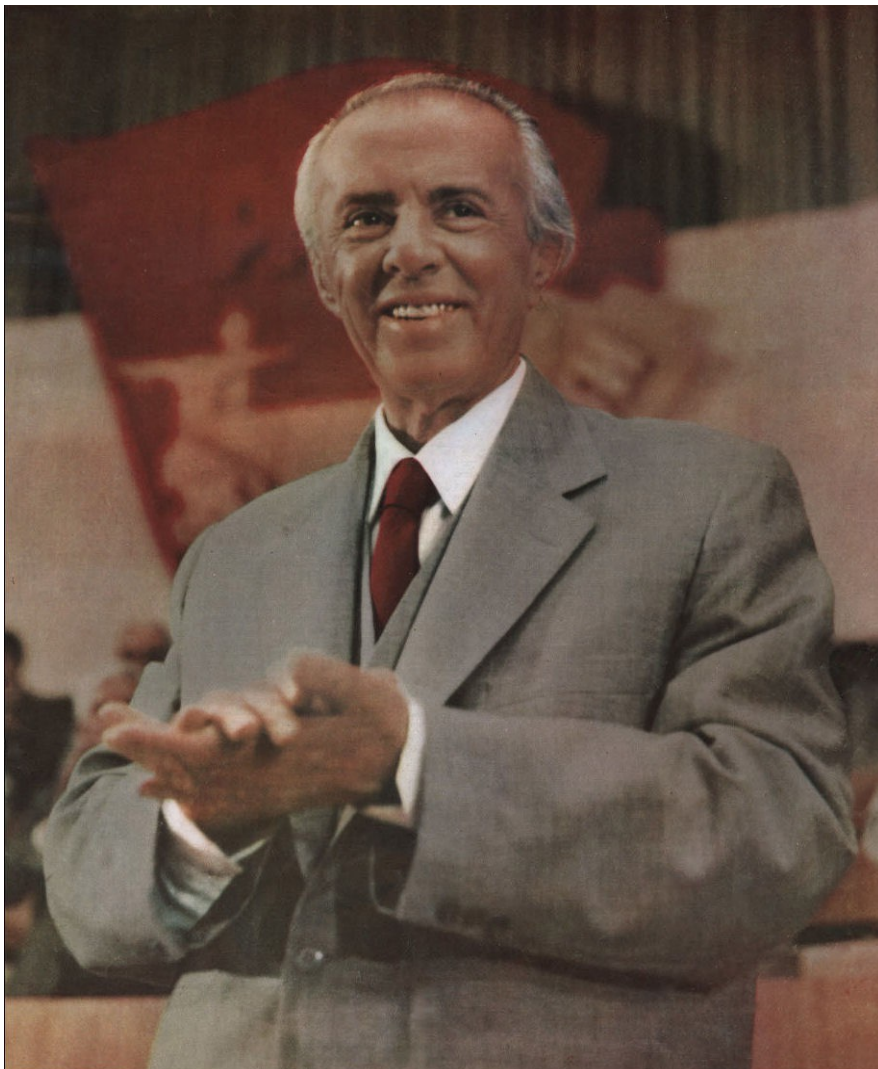
The call of the Party has been and remains: «Work and vigilance» for the benefit of the people and the future of the new generations!

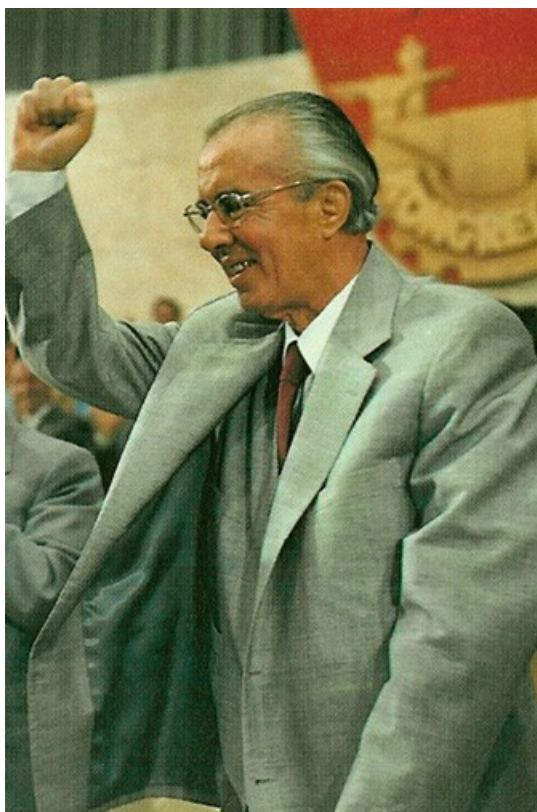
Long live the Party !

Glory to Marxism-Leninism!

«Always Vigilant», vol. 2

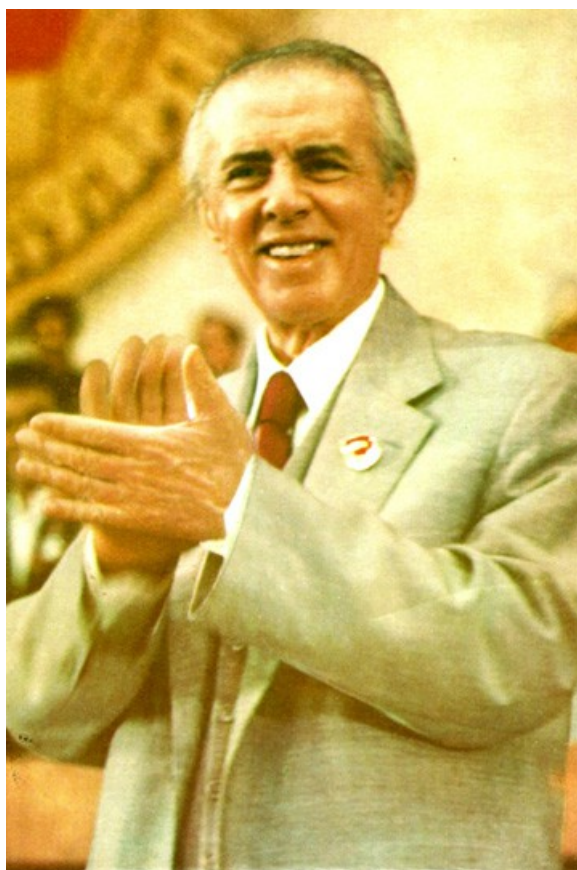
Between 14th and 16th January 1982 the Eighth Meeting of 9 Legislative Term of the People's Assembly took place. Also comrade Enver Hoxha was present. It was expression of the increasing class struggle not only against the outer enemies but also against the inner enemies of Albania. Many purges took place and hostile elements were replaced or eliminated. However, many of those new leaders who had occupied their new posts, emerged, later on, as open revisionist traitors who restored capitalism in Socialist Albania after the death of comrade Enver Hoxha. Adil Carcani who replaced the traitor Mehmet Shehu was such a hidden revisionist traitor who came to power on the Eighth Meeting of 9 Legislative Term of the People's Assembly.





Enver Hoxha on the 9th Congress of the Trade Unions Of Albania

June 1982



Comrade Enver Hoxha was enthusiastically welcomed on the 9th Congress of the Albanian Association of Trade Unions which took place between the 6th and 9th June of 1982. Comrade Enver Hoxha was not speaking.

On the 9th Meeting of 9 Legislative term of the National Assembly which took place between the 26th and 29th of June 1982, was Comrade Enver Hoxha no longer present.

On June 19, 1982, Zeri i Popullit praised the centenary of Dimitrov's birthday. This was also a sign for the ongoing revisionist degeneration in Albania. Some revisionist thesis of Dimitrov were revived by Ramiz Alia - such as the "irreversible victory of socialism" in Albania. Later on, Ramiz Alia spoke also about the "irreversible defeat of revisionism" in Albania , about the "State of the People" instead of the proletarian state; that the possibilities of restoration of capitalism would be "eliminated", he spoke about the revisionism in all the other countries and simultaneously kept silent on the necessity of the continuation of the anti-revisionist struggle in Albania etc., etc.

On August 8, 1982, Zeri i Popullit reported about talks of comrade Enver Hoxha with cadres of the party and the state in the region of Korca. Comrade Enver Hoxha asked the cadres about their difficulties with the bureaucracy in the field of agriculture. The cadres informed him about their sorrows and difficulties. Enver Hoxha gave the advice:

It is necessary that we introduce new ways of working. You can not get stuck with the old practices. We need to start with a high degree of intensification. Certainly there will appear some trouble, organizational, financial, material, psychological and other problems, since it involves greater production. "

Enver Hoxha also said: "We need to increase the vigilance and toughen the moral and political unity of the people."

His visit on site expresses Enver Hoxha's excellent scientific method of combining theory and practice of the revolution in the agricultural sector. On April 24, 1982, he had contributed

" WE MUST NOT SEPARATE THE INTENSIFICATION WITH PRIORITY IN THE ALLOCATED LOWLAND ZONE FROM THE INTENSIFICATION OF AGRICULTURE OVER THE WHOLE COUNTRY"

at the meeting of the Political Bureau of the CC of the PLA. This meeting discussed the report of the Ministry of Agriculture, presented by the council of Ministers, «On the work done and the measures for the application of the directive of the 8th Congress of the Party about the priority intensification of agricultural and livestock production in the allocated lowland zones». Comrade Enver Hoxha said:

Intensification in itself is a very progressive idea of extreme importance, but it is also quite complicated.

When defining the areas which are not intensified yet in the zone which we are going to intensify, this will be done in proportion with the possibilities which we provide. Within that zone different conditions prevail : some parts have a number of favourable conditions, some average conditions and other parts less favourable conditions. We will begin with those that have less favourable conditions, then we will come to those with average conditions and we will reach the highest level at the end of the five-year period. Thus the whole zone will be intensified to a higher level.

The possibilities are great, but some people still have reservations. We must clearly understand the international situation and the great hostility with which Albania is threatened. We must be very rigorous, precise and revolutionary about the accomplishment of tasks, otherwise we cannot advance. Tomorrow the enemies might commit a provocation against us, therefore we must have reserves now. Hence, we must think about the times of danger.

We are not living in plenty, you must bear this in mind. We make sacrifices in one direction in order to fulfil another need, which must be fulfilled, especially the needs of agriculture which is the basis of our economy.

What we are doing is an addition. These things must be done without depriving the hills and all the other zones which are not being intensified, but, on the contrary, by assisting and intensifying them, too.

I think that we must understand agriculture and the needs of the people as interlinked. It is important that we create plenty and we must create more suitable conditions so as to achieve this in scientific ways, through the concentration and circulation of production according to science and the soil.

The new concepts of large-scale socialist production are gradually taking the place of old concepts. In this way we also combat the old concepts of autarchy, in the sense that it is often demanded that all the crops should be produced within the one economy and, indeed, years ago this was more pronounced and reflected even in brigades. The struggle which has been waged against the «mosaic» of crops within small areas must now be waged against manifestations of autarchy in larger areas. I think that the implementation of scientific schemes of rotation of agricultural production and the struggle against autarchy should be conceived on a broader scale.

We will produce the things we need within the country and also have some for export. Thus we will have in our hands a great economic force to manoeuvre abroad and to further develop industry, agriculture and other branches of the economy.

Already the higher-type cooperatives have achieved a good level of development, indeed some of them have achieved the level of state farms, others a little less, but others still have outstripped the state farms.

The state of the dictatorship of the proletariat does not work only for the higher-type cooperatives, in order to enable them only to improve the living standard of the members. Our state also thinks about the other cooperatives. But the higher-type cooperatives must maintain the level achieved and raise it further.

We must begin to build harvesting machines, etc., in the country.

The organs of the Ministry of Internal Trade and those of the Ministry of the Light and Foodstuffs Industry do sign a kind of contract with the agricultural cooperatives, but not with a strict regime and penalties which are usually included in contracts between state enterprises. As a result, it is noticed that some agricultural products, especially vegetables, fruit, etc., are sometimes collected and sometimes not by the subsidiary organs of ministries. It seems to me that this matter must be looked at more carefully and should not continue as it is. Indeed, I think that the cooperatives should have a branch or sector engaged in the distribution and trading of the products, the signing of contracts, and the following up of the obligations which result from the implementation of contracts.

It can and does happen that some of the products may not be up to the requirements for export or the standards for internal trade, because they may have been damaged. This does not mean that the goods referred to should be rejected, but measures should be taken to process them industrially, or they should be bought by the trade organs at a lower price, actually protecting the interests of the state, but not to the detriment of the peasant. And these goods can be sold at prices at which the people will buy them.

I pointed out some of these problems not because they should all be brought under the study which will be redone of the lowland zone of priority intensification.

We shall decide in the Political Bureau about the more fundamental problems which we took up this time. The government and the state and economic organs must decide and take concrete measures on the other questions in order to support this great program for the intensification of agriculture, as the 8th Congress of the Party decided.

The unmasking of Mehmet Shehu and his family clan as agents of foreign enemies was transformed into a revolutionary campaign within the entire Albanian society by Comrade Enver Hoxha and the PLA . Wherever Mehmet Shehu and his clan had exercised damaging influence, orientation campaigns were carried out. The political, ideological and economical work was reorganized and raised to a higher level of development. This included also the reorganization of the Party School "VI Lenin," which was misguided by the wife of Mehmet Shehu. Enver Hoxha criticized and initiated the necessary measures for changes within the Party School

MARXISM-LENINISM IS A NECESSITY, LIKE THE AIR WE BREATHE AND THE FOOD WE EAT

- From a contribution at the meeting of the Secretariat of the CC of the PLA - April 26, 1982

In order to make the Party School a truly revolutionary institution, and this we must do without fail, we must think hard about how to revolutionize it, how to smash certain prejudices and methods which have become obsolete. I have given orders that a control team should go to the «V. I. Lenin» Party School to see what was being done there by Figret Shehu who treated the school as «her untouchable zone» and, in fact, when the comrades of the team from the Central Committee apparatus went to the Party School, the enemy Figret Shehu tried to shut the door to them. But Comrade Foto Çami insisted saying: «I am sent here by the Central Committee of the Party.»

«But why, is there anything wrong with us here?» she asked.

«Whatever there is,» replied Comrade Foto «the Central Committee is going to check up on you.» So, the comrades of the Central Committee went there for this purpose, while you kept silent, you did not raise the problems as you should have done.

It was said here that the programs of the school must be revised.

In the question we are examining in this meeting about raising the level of the work for the Marxist-Leninist education of cadres in the «V. I. Lenin» Party School, in Party courses and in forms of education, the Party School is the main factor.

When we say that it should have a revolutionary character, we mean that it must be carried out on the Marxist-Leninist line of the Party.

The great need for the Marxist-Leninist education has impelled us to find such forms of work, assistance and control. That is what the Marxist-Leninist theory teaches us. too.

In my opinion, in the Party School we train neither chinovniki* [* *State employees (Russ. in the original)*] nor office workers, nor Party workers. To the «V. I. Lenin» Party School, and Party courses and forms of education in the Party we send cadres of the Party and its levers, so that they acquire knowledge of our Marxist-Leninist theory, which will serve them as a guiding compass to find their bearings in the work the Party assigns them to do.

For what I know, they base their decisions on the reference which the Party School issues for each student. This reference should be the fruit of the collective thinking of all the teachers of the Party School, and not as the enemy Figret Shehu did, nor should it be a reference issued by one teacher alone.

What I am driving at here is that we must ask the students to work on those materials of the classics which illustrate the themes they study, so that he who finishes the Party School and has some experience of work should be able to draw an analogy readily in the struggle against the opponents of our ideology today.

I have come to the conclusion that the aim here is to have as many people with higher education attend the Party School. I am not opposed to sending cadres with higher education to the Party School, but I think that to this School we should send more workers with secondary education.

Through this School we give the working class a strong Marxist-Leninist education. The workers should predominate in the Party School, and we should not consider them to be below understanding the Marxist-Leninist theory. If we think so we are making mistakes. The workers understand Marxism-Leninism very well, indeed, they understand it better than those who have finished the general secondary school and have never worked in production. We must send to the Party School those workers who have done eight or more years in difficult sectors of production, such as forges, factories, mines and saw-mills. I raise this problem because the material presented to us reads: «...as a rule, only cadres with higher education are admitted to correspondence courses.» The question is not that the cadre with higher education masters the subject better because he has more efficient methods of assimilating lessons, but that the cadres with secondary education, also, should study Marxism-Leninism.

In the daily life of the Party there are many things which the Party must explore, activate and enliven. In regard to this, the method of work and activity of the instructors and sectors in the apparatus of the Central Committee of the Party should be further perfected, because just as they report and are prepared to say everything about economic and political problems, so must they be just as ready, not to say readier, to report about the life of the Party.

In its reports to the Central Committee, the party committee of the district may round things out. If we take up questions in general, this will not give us a complete picture of the situation. But should we have details brought here to the Secretariat? What I am demanding is not this, but that the people at the grassroots should be active. He who drafts the report should call together all the instructors, those who have checked up on the basic organizations, both through the protocols of their meetings and in their practical life and activity. Basing himself on such information, he should come out with his own conclusions before the bureau of the party committee of the district. If the Party, then its instructors should propose to the bureau about presenting a report to the Central Committee of the Party, then its instructors should propose to the bureau of the Party Committee that they make an analysis of the zone of Roskovec or that of Mallakastrá, for instance, to examine the situation of the Party life there. If it appears to be weak, then the reasons should be stated why it is weak, and in what the weakness consists. If the situation is strong, then the good work done should be pointed out.

The report should be based on this analysis and be drafted after securing all-round information from many sources, and not from the member of the plenum only, because he, too, may be subjective, whereas instructors should base themselves on the Party work.

Protocols of meetings have to be kept carefully in each basic organization. In the basic organizations of the Party we have now communists with schooling who are able to keep the protocols of meetings of the organization properly. There are communists with little schooling, too, but there are also those with more schooling, indeed we have now intellectuals, such as agronomists, teachers, etc., even in the basic organizations of the village.

The instructor of the party committee must have it in his work plan to follow up some basic organizations, to check up on their Party life through them, but even if he has not this particular item in his plan, he should look into the Party life of the organizations to which he goes.

But does he really go to the grassroots? I am not implying that he should go there every day, though I do not agree to it that the instructor should go to an organization only once a month, because in this case he would not do his job properly.

The instructor must go to ten or fifteen basic organizations and attend their meetings at least once a month; or he may first read the protocol of the meeting a particular organization has held the month before, draw some characteristic questions from it and tell them how to proceed in the future. The instructor of the apparatus of the Central Committee of the Party, when he comes back here, to the Central Committee, must also bring along his notes about the organization in which he has been.

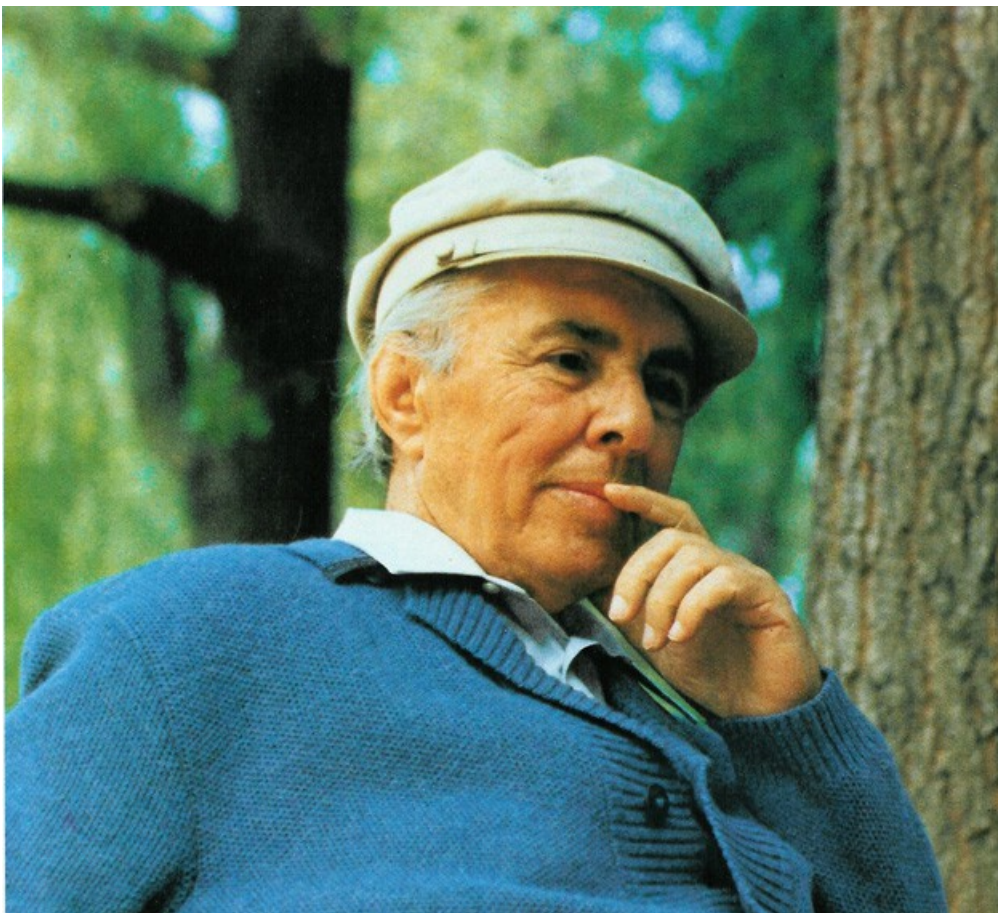
Both the instructor of the Central Committee and that of the party committee of the district must be in a position to report instantly about the party organizations of the zones where they have been, at any moment that the Political Bureau or the bureau of the Party Committee of the district may ask information about what is happening in this zone or that. They may be asked to bring along the protocols, too, but I think that they know the situation even without the protocols, because they have taken the necessary notes from the protocols which they have read at the grassroots.

Is this how they do it or not? Should this be done in this way or not? And if it should, then should the instructors have their particular zones, or should they not?

Division into zones does not imply that an instructor should not go to the zone covered by another instructor, and vice versa. No, it implies only that the instructor of a given zone should feel his responsibility for the zone which is assigned to him. Just as cadres working in agriculture hold themselves responsible for the work they have been appointed to, so is the instructor of the apparatus of the party committee assigned to work in a particular zone. He can take part in control teams, too. Perhaps, this work is going on well in some district, but it is not so everywhere, therefore I think that we must review these questions. The more so, as someone said here that we have abandoned the distribution of instructors to particular zones. This problem seems to be of an organizational character, whereas I think that it is also a political and ideological problem whose solution assists in the all-round education of the communists.

I have another question. We have taken a decision to the effect that the first secretary of the party committee of the district should every month call the secretaries of the basic organizations of the Party, if not all of them at once, at least in individual groups, and inform them about the internal and the international situation. In this meeting the secretary of the party committee of the district should speak about current problems of the economy, the degree of mobilization of the workers in the enterprises and of the members of agricultural cooperatives of the district, assessing the good work done by this or that secretary. He derives his information from the instructors who have studied the situation in the sectors from the reports and protocols of the meetings of the basic organizations, and have actually attended some of them. Also, he keeps the secretaries of the basic organizations in touch with the political situation, making a brief summary of the main world events. So, through these meetings, the first secretary keeps the Party organizations of the district informed about the situation.

Marxism-Leninism, now more than ever before, is an absolute necessity, like the air we breathe every moment and the food we eat.



Enver Hoxha summer portrait

1982

On September 15, 1982, comrade Enver Hoxha made the opening address on the Anniversary meeting of the General Council of the Democratic Front of Albania on the 40th Year of establishment. He said:

The Conference of Peza pursued two objectives : first, the Albanian people, no matter whatever views they might have to join together in the National Liberation Front and organize for armed struggle and, second , to develop the people's perspectives on what would be later.

Upon this rests the wisdom and reason of the party - namely to rally all the people, all patriots around the party. The party taught to participate with the weapon in hand in the struggle. There was no other alternative to win freedom. This was the experience of the people. The party did something great : It did not allow that the feudal- bourgeois and clerical tendencies undermine this sacred struggle with their intrigues. The party itself should lead the front, because the party alone represented the flaming desires of the Albanian people . And the people have understand. The party's enemies have not understood. The enemies we forced down, as we well as the Italian and the German occupiers were defeated . In Peza the National Liberation Front was founded, and the foundations of the people's power were laid. The national liberation struggle and the revolution had a main objective : the seizure of power . The fate of Albania depended on who would take power. We were convinced that the people would take power under the leadership of the party and no one else. We won, by alone, fought within the borders of the country and with external allies, but we exercised the greatest vigilance so that no one set foot in Albania. And that was one of the reasons of our great victory.

We must therefore understand the importance of this great work of our Party deeply, a work that was not a coincidence but well thought out . The party had considered all the spoke which the false friends put in our wheel, and who were also enemies in truth.

The external and internal enemies who should dare to touch our country , will run their head against a brick wall, will be destroyed.

This was a clear declaration of class war against all future external and internal enemies of socialist Albania. And ironically, the worst internal enemy of Socialist Albania - the traitor Ramiz Alia - *continued* the celebrations of the 40th Anniversary of the Democratic front hypocritically with the main speech !!



Enver Hoxha at the 8th Congress of the

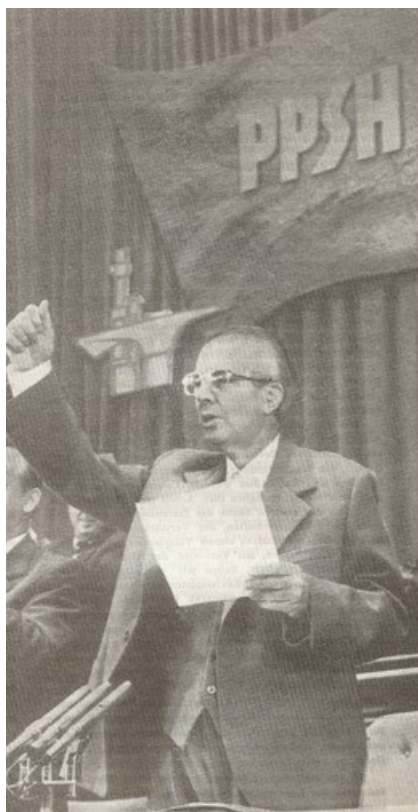
Labour Youth Union of Albania

October 1982

In October 1982, the 8th Congress of the Association of the Youth of Labour of Albania took place and with rapturous applause comrade Enver Hoxha was welcomed when he entered the platform of the Congress. Comrade Enver Hoxha was greeting with his raised fist, and the participants of the congress were shouting: *"Party - Enver - we are always ready !"* and *"Party - our mother - your word, our deed!"* However, not comrade Enver Hoxha, the first secretary of the CC, but another member of the CC presented compliments of the PLA to the Congress. On the platform, also the delegates of different countries took a seat - coming from Vietnam, Peru, Danmark, Ecuador, Germany, Canada, Spain, Portugal, Tanzania, Colombia, Great Britain, Togo, Dominican Republic, France, Obervolta(Burkino Fasso), Sweden and Dahomey (Benin). The little pioneers marched into the hall straight towards comrade Enver Hoxha, tied a shawl of the pioneers around his neck and handed him over a buquet. The Congress was closed by singing the hymn of the International. Lumturi Rexha (First Secretary) said: *"The Party with comrade Enver Hoxha at the head, has always thwarted the plans of the inner and outer enemies to wrest the revolution and socialism from Albania and to make it dependend from the imperialist and revisionist powers. This will be forever; our enemies will fail because of the vigilance of our Marxist-Leninist party and of the steely unity of Party-People."*

Not even 10 years the statue of comrade Enver Hoxha was destroyed inmidst the capital of Tirana !

[One of the students who demonstrated 1990/1991 in Tirana was the anti-communist Ilir Meta - a corrupt Parliament President in September 2013. There were also some other students such as Ed. Rama - corrupted Cultural Minister and follower of the traitor Fatos Nano, leader of the Socialist Party]



In his address to the electors, delivered in the electoral zone No. 210 of Tirana on November 10, 1982,

WORK AND VIGILANCE TO MAKE THE PEOPLE'S STATE POWER EVER STRONGER ,

comrade Enver Hoxha emphasized:

Dear comrade electors,

I am very happy to be here among you, the dear people of our beloved capital, and to thank you for the great honour you have done me by appointing me as your candidate for deputy to the People's Assembly. The trust you have placed in me belongs to our glorious Party which brought these happy days we enjoy today and which is guiding us, with a clear mind and a sure hand, towards an even finer and more beautiful future. The Party taught us, its sons and daughters, how to fight and how to work for the freedom and the independence of the Homeland. It was the Party which made us conscious fighters for the cause of the working class, which gave us the ideas and the strength to serve the cause of the construction of socialism in Albania.

Therefore, at these solemn moments, when we are preparing to vote for the renewal of the People's Assembly, as at every other moment, our finest thoughts, our feelings of profound love and gratitude are for the Party, for its correct line, for its unshaken loyalty to Marxism-Leninism.

It was the freedom-loving and revolutionary character of our people, the lessons they had drawn from the bitter past, when Albania was ruled and oppressed by foreigners, which impelled them to unite firmly around the Party and, under its leadership, to fight and emerge victorious over the plots and interference of the imperialists, and the betrayal by the modern revisionists — Yugoslav, Soviet and Chinese.

The Albanian people have never been so united in their interests, in their political and ideological views, their moral norms and social behaviour, as they are today. This steel unity, tempered by the Party in the heroic battles for the liberation of the Homeland and for the great socialist transformations, is the firm and unbreakable foundation on which the people's state power, the freedom and independence of the Homeland are based. This unity constitutes that great monolithic force which has withstood savage enemies and defeated their intrigues and plots.

Against this unity of the Party and people Mehmet Shehu, too, one of the most dangerous traitors and enemies of socialist Albania, broke his head. He had been criticized many times by the Party for his grave mistakes, but had managed to camouflage himself. The documents that have been discovered and incontestible evidence prove that since before the War he had been working for the American secret service. During the War and after Liberation Mehmet Shehu fought and worked in Albania as a mercenary in the pay of foreigners and under their orders. When he was in the 1st Brigade he was recruited by the Yugoslav secret service (OZNA, today the UDB) and then, by the Soviet KGB , and he served them all zealously. Acting on the orders and instructions of foreign espionage centres, especially the CIA and the UDB, he and the group of plotters linked with him, who are now in the hands of the authorities for full investigation, worked to destroy the Party and the people's state power and to put Albania under foreign rule.

In order to carry through the subversive, gangster plans worked out by their patrons in Washington, Belgrade and elsewhere, Mehmet Shehu and his associates were prepared to commit grave crimes. Mehmet Shehu had received orders from the Yugoslav UDB to kill the First Secretary of the Central Committee and other leaders of the Party and state, as well as to use terrorist means to crush all those who would rise against this great treachery.

Socialist Albania is a completely free and independent country and state which is indebted to nobody for anything.

The tutelage and dictate, interference and debts, from which many countries, not only small ones, but also big ones suffer, are alien and unacceptable to Albania. Never before has Albania enjoyed an international position stronger than it has today.

Within a relatively very short time, Albania has been transformed from a poor and starving country into one full of factories and combines, mines and hydro-power stations, with drained and irrigated fields, with schools and scientific institutions. Our people are enlightened politically and ideologically, educated and cultured, able to accomplish any work which is needed for the progress and the defence of the Homeland with their own forces. In our country a revolutionary and patriotic younger generation is growing up, an all-round educated generation which will certainly carry the torch of the revolution ever further forward and raise the glory of our socialist Homeland higher and higher.

Our people, guided by the Party, have never separated their work and activity from the great question of making the socialist victories secure and strengthening the defence capacity of our beloved Homeland.

Four years ago, on the eve of elections for the last legislature we publicly denounced the betrayal of the Chinese revisionists and their anti-Albanian activity. The enemies hoped that socialist Albania would be forced to its knees and appeal for foreign aid. But they were proven wrong in their calculations.

The results we have achieved are even more outstanding if we bear in mind that in all the capitalist and revisionist countries there is a great depression in the economy, declining production, unemployment, price rises, great inflation and falling standard of living.

What is new in the present crisis is that it has demonstrated the bankruptcy of the bourgeois and revisionist theories and practices designed to avoid them. It has been confirmed in practice that the stimulation of production through the artificial increase of internal consumption, by turning all the people into debtors to monopolies, is fraught with catastrophic consequences for the entire country.

This situation is the result of the intensification of the aggressive policy and activities of the imperialist superpowers and the revival of various reactionary, fascist and warmongering forces.

Both in the United States of America and in the Soviet Union, an adventurous militarist course is becoming predominant in their foreign policy, a strategy of direct military intervention as a means to secure expansion and their political and economic hegemony in the world is being implemented. Now the superpowers have made not only the peoples and countries, which have been outside the zones of their domination, but also their closest partners in the military alliances and economic blocs, the objectives of this general offensive.

The revolutionary, patriotic, democratic and peaceloving forces everywhere in the world are putting up open and determined resistance to the inhuman aggressive policy of American imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism.

These struggles and efforts also constitute those main factors which hit the world capitalist and imperialist system, which cause the crises in the capitalist alliances and exacerbate the interimperialist contradictions, which restrain and hinder imperialism in the realization of its enslaving and war-mongering plans.

Now we see that, as a result of the hegemonic policy and brutal intervention of the United States of America and the Soviet Union, new tensions and conflicts are being created in Europe, the Mediterranean, the Middle East, and the Balkans, directly threatening the peace and security of many countries of these region.

Our stands are known. We have said and continue to say that we will have no rapprochement or reconciliation with either American imperialism or Soviet social-imperialism which to us and all the peoples are the greatest enemies. We will resolutely oppose their aims of hegemony and relentlessly expose their aggressive plans. Our opinion is and life has proved that our struggle and irreconcilable stand against American imperialism and Soviet socialimperialism constitute an essential condition for the preservation of the freedom and independence of the Homeland, for progress on our socialist road.

Hands off Albania !

Albania threatens nobody, it wants to live in friendship with the others but, if anyone violates its rights and borders, it will retaliate in kind. Likewise, it will reply in the sternest manner to the injustices or insults anybody might employ against it.

Allow me to take the opportunity of the celebration of the 70th anniversary of the proclamation of independence to greet all our people, as well as all the Albanian patriots in the world, and present my best wishes to them on the occasion of this day dear to our hearts.

The elections to the People's Assembly find work going on at full swing all over the country to put the decisions of the 8th Congress of the Party in practice, to fulfil the important tasks of the 7th Five-year Plan. Let them serve as an inspiration and impulse to further strengthening the steel unity of the people around the Party, to greater mobilization and zest at work, to working with discipline and knowledge, to implementing everywhere the militant slogan of the Party, «Work and Vigilance», to making the people's state power ever stronger, our socialist Albania ever more beautiful, more prosperous and happier.

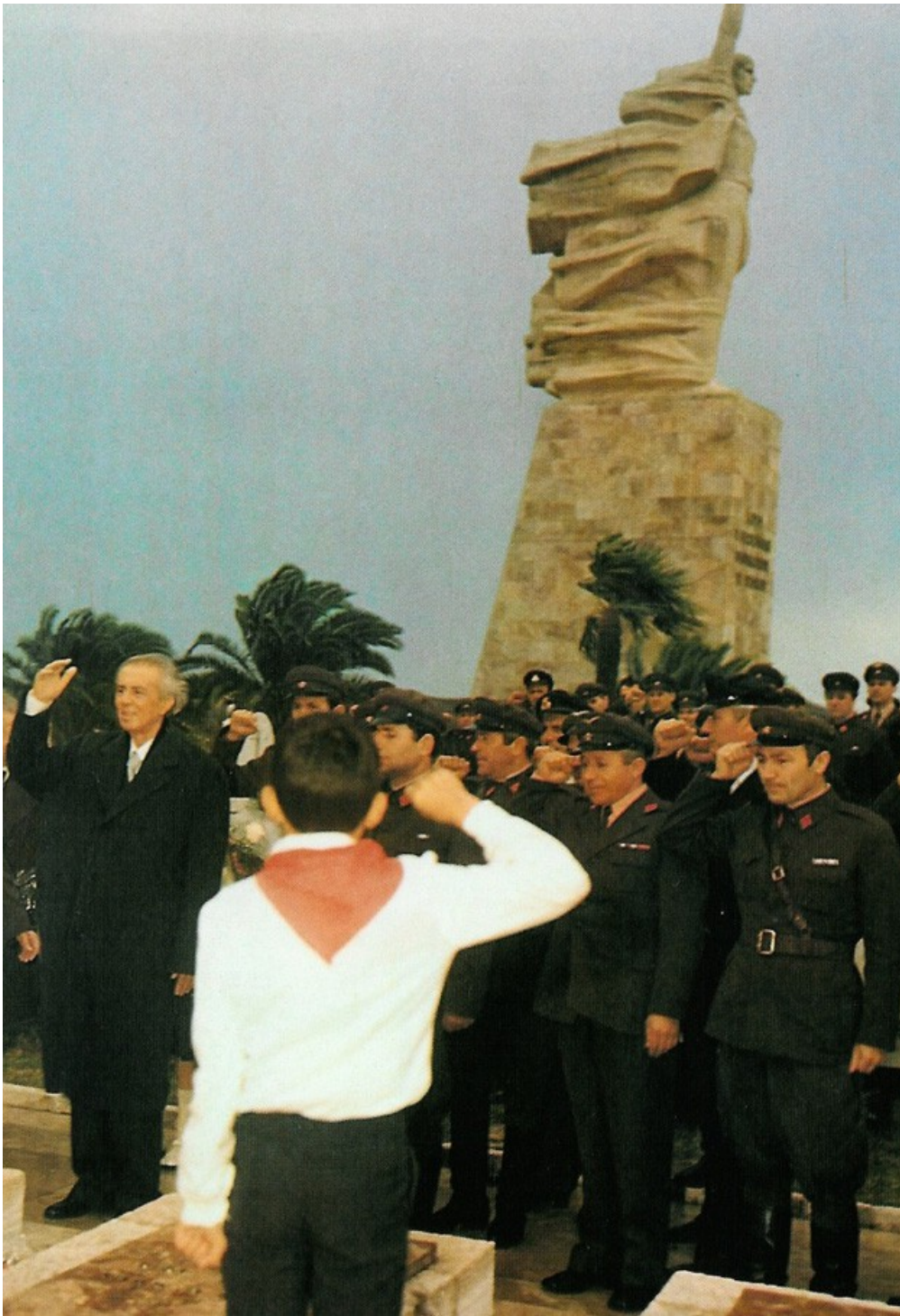
Looking at the composition of the Council of Ministers of the People's Assembly , then there are some revisionists who have betrayed the socialist Albania such as the chairman Adil Carcani and the foreign minister Reis Malile.

To eliminate the damages of the earthquake of 17 November 1982, Comrade Enver Hoxha and the Central Committee of the PLA took action to help the affected population immediately.

At the first 1st Meeting of the Legislative term of the National Assembly Comrade Enver Hoxha participated on 22 and 23 November 1982 :

We will strive to fulfill our responsibilities under the high commitment of all our staff and with boundless love of country and to the great cause of building socialism and defending the country, guided by the wisdom of our glorious party.

On November 28 and 29, 1982 the celebrations on occasion of the 70th anniversary of the independence of Albania and the 38th anniversary of the liberation of the country and the victory of the people's revolution took place. Comrade Enver Hoxha was welcomed by standing ovation.



Enver Hoxha pays homage at the martyrs of the nation cemetery

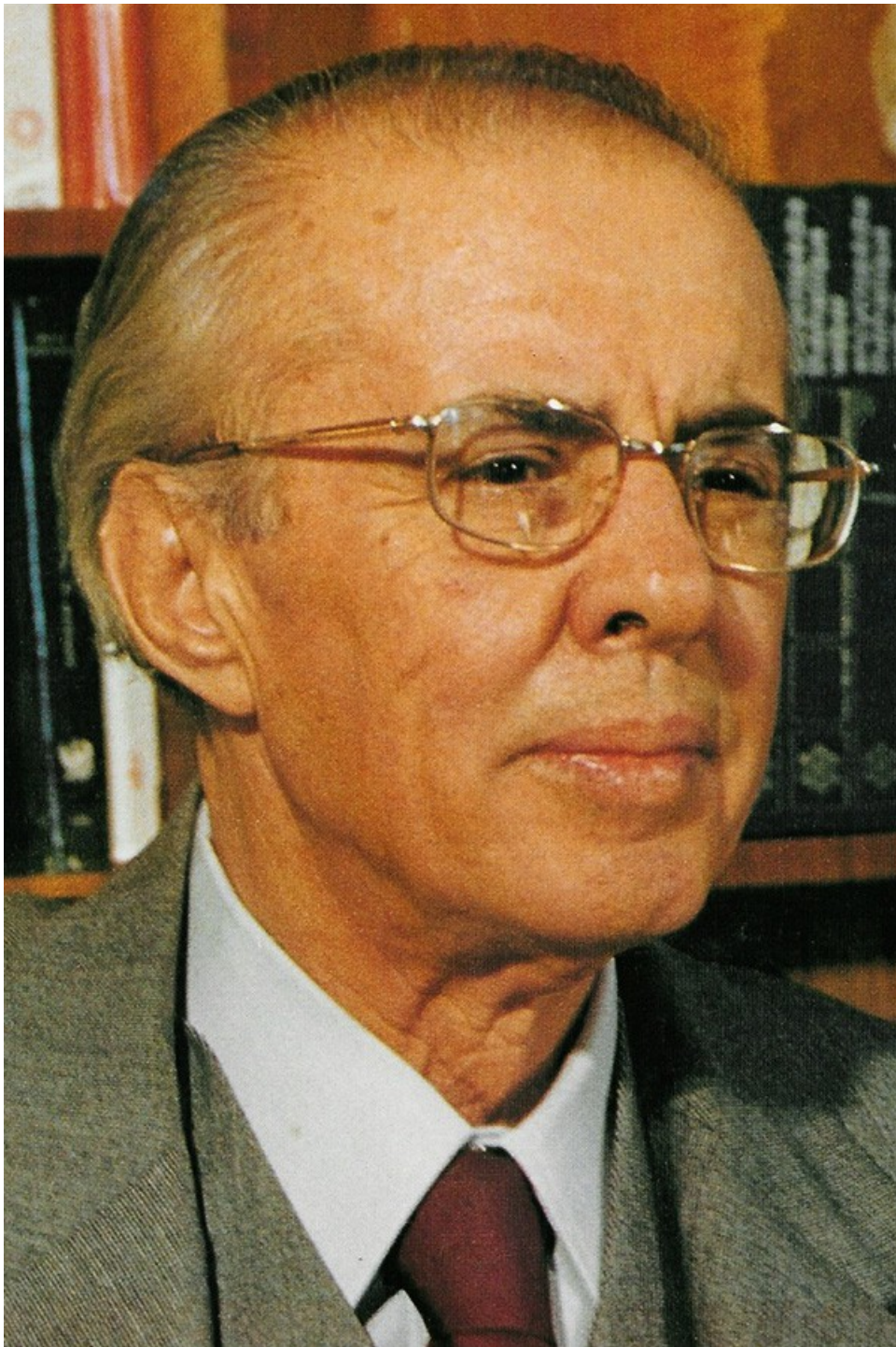
November 28, 1982



On the heroes' cemetery comrade Enver Hoxha participated in the wreath laying and showed honor to the dead soldiers of the liberation war:

Glory to the Heroes of the Fatherland !

Comrade Enver Hoxha visited also the graves of Qemal Stafa, Hysni Kapo and Gogo Nushi.



ENVER HOXHA

1983

On January 24 and 25, 1983, the 6th Plenum of the Central Committee of the PLA convened under the direction of First Secretary, Comrade Enver Hoxha. On the agenda: *"Over the fulfillment of plan targets for 1982 and the main tasks in the draft plan of 1983"*.

In January 1983, the CC of the PLA sent a telegram to the Peruvian Communist Party (ML) on occasion of the 5th Congress.

On March 5, 1983, everywhere in Albania events took place on occasion of the 30th Death Day of J. V. Stalin. Comrade Enver Hoxha said:

Stalin joined the ranks of the great classics of Marxism-Leninism with its unyielding principled struggle for the defense, the consistent application and development of the ideas of Marx, Engels and Lenin. To be a Stalinist means for all revolutionaries and Marxist-Leninists: indomitable fighter for the revolution. And in this sense it is right to attribute this to our heroic party. Our party and our people will continue on the path of Karl Marx, Friedrich Engels, Vladimir Lenin and Josef Stalin. Future generations of Albania will faithfully follow the line of their beloved party.

The traitor Ramiz Alia opened the solemn assembly - that Albanian Krushchevite who had organized the de-stalinization of Albania after the death of comrade Enver Hoxha.

On the 14th of March 1983 the celebrations on occasion of the 100th Day of Death of Karl Marx took place. Comrade Enver Hoxha said:

Karl Marx created and bequeathed humanity a great wealth of discoveries and knowledge about the transformation of society, the overthrow of capitalism, the elimination of exploitation, the building of socialism and communism.

Comrade Enver Hoxha was welcomed in Tirana with thunderous applause.

Everywhere in Albania conferences, meetings and other activities took place on the occasion of the 100th Day of death of Karl Marx.

Comrade Enver Hoxha did not take part at the scientific conference on the 7th Fiveyear-Plan which took place between 11 and 12 April 1983 in Tirana. However he taught:

In the production of light and food industry a true revolution is necessary , a radical and thorough improvement, because it is about meeting the needs of the people ("For the 7th Five-Year Plan", page 389, Albanian edition).

On 1 May 1983 by ten o' clock, Comrade Enver Hoxha entered the stage in front of the building of the Council of Ministers. It resounded flaming cheers. Invited were also delegations of trade unions from Palestine, Great Britain, Danmark, France, Germany, Canada, Colombia, Portugal and Spain. Greetings were sent to the Marxist-Leninist brother parties who struggle at the head of the working class against capitalist exploitation and oppression.

On May 10, 1983, comrade Enver Hoxha welcomed the Vietnamese Ambassador. Comrade Enver Hoxha testified his great respect for the brave people of Vietnam and his heroic anti-imperialist struggle . He stressed that the liberation struggle of the Vietnamese people is a model for all liberation struggles in the world. The Albanian people stood and stands always at the side of the Vietnamese people. In particular, Albania condemned the armed provocations of the Chinese social-imperialism . Enver Hoxha welcomed the withdrawal of Vietnamese troops from Kombodscha in regard of the bloody Pol Pot regime. Enver Hoxha said in conclusion that the unwavering policy of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania is determined by the resistance against American imperialism, Soviet social- imperialism and other imperialist forces. Albania strictly applies the principles of equality and non-interference. Albania will spare no effort to obtain the friendly relations established between the Albanian and the Vietnamese people. The cooperation in all fields will be extended in mutual interest.

From 1 - 3 June 1983, the ninth Congress of the women's association if Albania was held in Durres. Comrade Enver Hoxha was also present. Delegates from all over the world read aloud their greetings from Vietnam, from the PAC of Africa, Palestine, Egypt, Tanzania, Maili, Zimbabwe, Brazil, Danmark, Spain, Portugal, Canada, Great Britain, Germany, Sweden, France, Peru, USA, Ecuador, Kongo.

Already on January 21, 1983, comrade Enver Hoxha had a conversation at the daoly meeting with the secretaries of the CC of the PLA concerning the question of women:

WE MUST INVOLVE THE WOMAN MORE ACTIVELY IN THE PROBLEMS OF SOCIETY

The Party must always carry out an intensive ideopolitical and social activity everywhere, especially in the remote zones of the Highlands, in which patriarchal leftovers, which express themselves in diverse forms such as clannishness, attachment to private property, feeling of kinship and preservation of the patriarchal family, etc., still exist.

In the first place, women should become conscious of their social value and their leading and productive capacity in the economy, because this is how their authority is enhanced and strengthened. In this manner they will be able to join their economic strength with their husbands' and no longer remain under their «chains». It is true that if the husband works in the mine he is a little bit more advanced, but still he retains patriarchal concepts and leftovers which he manifests, in one way or another, in family relations.

In the remote mountainous zones still more work must be done to raise woman to a level at which she can speak out courageously, boldly demand the introduction of the progressive new into life and production and can decide about the latter.

Treatment of women and children in the Highlands and in the lowland zones poses greatly differing problems. People in the lowlands are more advanced in this direction. Why has it come about that they are more advanced in the lowland zone? Because people there have applied the Party line for the development of the cooperativist economy better, and, as a result, have created greater income, which they have known how to utilize properly to improve their well-being.

The particular makes up the general, and this enables you to compare one district with another so as to make them all advance in the same direction.

In general, the districts have made progress in their economic development. There is a general progress, but there is also partial progress; some districts are more advanced. And then, there are also zones which still do not keep up with the development of the whole district.

Hence, there are nuances, which the Party must pick up and study, because only in this way can it lead, advise, approve or disapprove the decisions taken by the basic organizations. This enables the apparatus of the party committee to exercise realistic control on the accomplishment of the planned tasks in various regions of the district.

It seems to me that the Party cadres and workers must be taught to follow up the development of the country simultaneously in its political, ideological, moral and social aspects, in order to strengthen the feeling of collectiveness and socialism, and the new moral-political norms of our society.

If we know the situation in a district, region, or cooperative, etc., thoroughly and work seriously to improve it, working not only in an individual manner but also in an organized manner, by means of reports, by means of serious meetings and not phrase-mongering, by putting the finger to the wound or making a clean breast of it, then we shall certainly have results. That would mean lively Party work for the political, ideological and moral education of our people, and only then shall we see how their consciousness will rise, and how the vanguard example of the communists will become fully evident.

Fulfilment of the plan requires that all people, indiscriminately, party members or not, should be raised to the political level required by the time and the problems which emerge, so that they understand the importance of the new methods of work, advanced technology in production, etc., etc. Only in this way shall we make perceptible progress in the accomplishment of economic tasks.

In my opinion, duplication of the duties of the chairman of the executive committee by the party secretary of the district creates the impression as if the latter is doing something, while in fact he is engaging in a work which belongs to someone else. The secretary is supposed to engage in other important work and activities, without performing which the plan cannot be fulfilled.

Cultivators cannot be put to work if we fail to carry out constant work to convince women politically of their usefulness, if the women are not encouraged and prompted by the Party so as to be aware of their capacities in thinking, working and managing, both at home and outside home. This is Party work.

In their work the Party workers must review all those measures and achievements which have given an impulse forward to our country, as is, for example, the emancipation of women, in order to see the great changes which have been made in the epoch of the Party, the evolution of customs, etc., so as to be in a position to strengthen their ideo-political, propaganda and organizational work and carry it out more correctly. The Party began its work for the emancipation of the women from the time of the National Liberation War. Right then it put the stress on the decisive role of women, both in the struggle for the liberation of the country and, later, for the building of socialist society. Since that time a great step ahead has been taken in their emancipation, and a great evolution or, better say, a revolution in the life and the activity of women has taken place in our country. Now the situation and the meaning of emancipation is not what it was many years ago. Albanian women, in general, are emancipated.

Emancipation in cities has risen to a higher level, therefore, the work of the Party among women here is aimed at further objectives, is intended to help them raise their personality still higher. By working ever better, women will be able to express their opinions more freely, either individually or, when the occasion presents itself, collectively, and to uphold them more forcibly, especially in the countryside. The emancipation of women has not been achieved in the same degree for all the villages or for all the districts. Each district has peculiarities of its own.

We must not forget that, in general, peasant women have worked in all times, but they worked like slaves. Now, after all this revolution, in the emancipation of women we have reached such a situation that women feel men's equals at work and in society.

However, at home submission to man's authority still exists in the form of respect shown to him. Anyway, it must be understood correctly that respect does not mean that the woman should not tell her husband what she thinks and be subservient to him. She must respect her husband for his correct opinions, but should also have the courage to tell him where his opinions are not right.

Therefore, we must not get stuck up with old formulae and with concepts of work in the emancipation of the women. To each problem we must find new solutions and more advanced forms of ideological and political work, in conformity with the more advanced circumstances which we have reached in the solution of this question.

Emancipation means a high political, ideological, moral and social level, the achievement of which requires intelligent Party work in conformity with the degree of consciousness women have already attained. Taking into account the degree of consciousness of our women today, we can no longer address them with clichés; our approach should be realistic, on the basis of the degree of development reached by that group of women with whom we intend to work. The important thing is to make the women more active in coping with the problems emerging before our society, to make them more capable of weighing with their own heads the pros and cons of the actions they take about a problem that faces them and the society.

It seems to me that this is how we must understand the question of the emancipation of women. The time is gone when the struggle for the emancipation of women meant, in the first place, the work that had to be done with the women to convince them to abandon the yashmak, or to eradicate religious prejudices, etc. Of course, now.

too, the struggle against religious remnants and backward customs should not be overlooked, but the main thing in this direction is the political and ideological elevation of all people, not only the highlanders, not only the peasants, but also the townspeople and the communists, a thing which leads to the creation of correct concepts about society, about the various sections of the youth, about the relations between boys and girls, husband and wife, and about all other problems.

In the summer of 1983, comrade Enver Hoxha sent a telegram to the Communist Party of Brazil:

Dear Comrade Joao Amazonas,

dear comrades delegates,

it is a particular pleasure for me on behalf of the Party of Labour of Albania , the Albanian people and in my own name, party , to greet all fighters and sympathizers of our sister party , the Communist Party of Brazil, to convey the flaming greetings. Your Congress takes place in the year of the 60th anniversary of the founding of the Communist Party of Brazil and the 20th anniversary of refoundation in the fight against the revisionist betrayal, ushering in a new period of struggle and victory.

The Communist Party of Brazil had made a valuable contribution to the historical struggle for the purification of our revolutionary doctrine against modern revisionism of all hues, for the defense and the constant strengthening of the unity of the Marxist- Leninist communist movement . The struggle of the Brazilian proletariat and the Brazilian people , under the leadership of the Communist Party of Brazil, is an integral and important part of the great world revolutionary process, of our time. It is a valuable contribution to the struggle of the international working class , the toiling masses and the freedom-loving peoples against imperialism and Soviet social- imperialism, reaction and fascism. In this common struggle the PLA and the Communist Party of Brazil forged a great friendship on the basis of Marxism - Leninism and proletarian internationalism. The PLA granted its support and assistance to the just and heroic struggle of the Communist Party of Brazil and wishes new, even more glorious victories on its path.

This "glorious path" ended after the death of Comrade Enver Hoxha . Joao Amazonas turned out to be an evil renegade who denied the teachings of Comrade Enver Hoxha, who deleted socialist Albania from memory and who led the Communist Party of Brazil to revisionism.

From 28 to 29 June 1983 convened the 3rd 10th Meeting of the Legislative term of the National Assembly of People's Socialist Republic of Albania, on which also of Comrade Enver Hoxha was present. He was welcomed with cheers and fiery applause. However, this Meeting was already in their hands of the hidden revisionist traitors Ramiz Alia and Adil Carcani. Changes of the constitution, of the laws and state organs were decided.



The 40th anniversary of the People's Army was celebrated on the 10th of July 1983.

Enver Hoxha, the chief of defence staff, gave the order of the day:

Comrades soldiers , NCOs and officers , members of the People's Army.

On occasion of the 10th July, this significant day when our heroic People's Army was created, I welcome all units of our forces. I wish you all the best to the great 40th Foundation Day ! Our People's army is coming to this glorious anniversary with closed ranks around the Party which brought you up as the liberation army of the homeland and the defence of socialism. You are coming politically and military heightened with high vigilance, always ready in defence of the socialist fatherland.

When celebrating today the 10th July, then we remember the legendary battles of the National Liberation Army with justifiable pride, the innumerable difficulties and sacrifices of the people. In deeply felt awe we bow to the heroes, the brave partisans who fell in the prime of youth, so that we can enjoy this beautiful and happy day today. Their work will remain imperishable.

Our entire people are today a soldier and the army is actually the guardian of their high interests.

The current international situation demands that we are always vigilant so that we are never taken by surprise by the enemy. This assigns to you the task of the party to make every effort to strengthen readiness and discipline, to consolidate the championship of the fight, and to always better acquire the strategy and tactics of our people's war.

Our people want peace and friendly cooperation with the various peoples. But you must not for a moment forget the threats and dangers posed to our country by the imperialists, social-imperialists, the revisionists and other enemies of the people. Keep always vigilance, live with the situations, fight against every appearance of liberalism and the underestimation of the enemy.

Above all, strengthen your connection between the army and the people continuously, toughen your unity around the party, namely every day. Always raise your higher political awareness and your ideological and cultural level!

Long live the 40th Founding Day of our People's Army!

Long live our heroic people!

Long live the glorious Labour Party, founder, inspirator and leader of our armed forces!

On the 40th Founding Day of the People's Army, a group of young people handed over the message of the members of the national army to the commander in chief of the armed forces, Comrade Enver Hoxha.

"You have made me very glad," said Enver to them, "send to all officers and soldiers my flaming congratulations to this great event."



Enver Hoxha

40th Anniversary of the Formation of the People's Army

July 10, 1983

The creation and development of the Albanian People's Army is inseparably linked with the name of Enver Hoxha. He was more than 40 years supreme commander and political commissar - namely uninterruptedly since the first armed combat units until his death. Comrade Enver Hoxha taught:

The leadership of the Party and the close connection with the people distinguish our army as a weapon of the dictatorship of the proletariat from the bourgeois and revisionist armies. We constantly provide for the consolidation of the party in the army for its political and ideological strengthening. If the army is not subject to the control of the Marxist-Leninist party, the character of the army itself is endangered (Enver Hoxha, Collected Works, Volume 33, page 179, Albanian edition).



Enver Hoxha with veterans of the National Liberation War

July 1983

On September 21, 1983, comrade Enver Hoxha delivered the closing speech at the 7th Plenum of the CC of the PLA. Comrade Enver Hoxha has exactly foreseen the increasing threat of the inner and foreign enemies on socialism and the country. He underlined how important it will be to cope with these enemies through defending Marxism-Leninism, the Party and the dictatorship of the proletariat. Ramit Alia and his Clique trampled the following lessons of comrade Enver Hoxha under foot. These lessons are of highest significance also for the socialist world revolution and the socialist revolution in Albania for the re-establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat. The closing speech at the 7th Plenum of the CC of the PLA is published here in full text:

Comrades,

In the previous plenums of the Central Committee of the Party we have discussed the extremely dangerous and complicated activity of the multiple agent Mehmet Shehu and his group and have adopted the respective decisions...

Here I do not intend to dwell once again on the history of all those events, because the Party not only was informed about them, but also laid all the information openly before the public about how events occurred, how they developed and all other details.

Also, I am not going to dwell on the «curiosities» which emerged during the court proceedings, but at this meeting of the Plenum I want to put the stress on some questions which must be understood better and taken into consideration properly.

The sentences passed by the respective courts are just, based on written sources and the admissions of defendants and the depositions of witnesses. We hear, however, that there are people who are not satisfied with the court sentences, because they wanted «all of them to be shot». Such people do not think soundly. Our Party judges mistakes, offences and crimes taking account of all circumstances, aggravating or attenuating, and knows how to differentiate between mistakes, offences and crimes, and must always do so. Otherwise, law would not be respected.

In our people's state power court decisions have never been taken in a spirit of revenge, but have been the equanimous deduction of a strong logic based on Marxist-Leninist dialectics, which in each case is aimed at uncovering the hostile activity, at exposing it politically and organizationally and, relying on facts, at interpreting the Penal Code correctly and with a cool head.

Equanimity and great correctness in the implementation of the line of the Party in various internal and external situations, sized up with political acumen and based on the principles of Marxism-Leninism, have vital importance for the destinies of our socialist Homeland.

Only such an analysis of the facts and decisions taken in this political and ideological spirit are the most correct and serve the strengthening of the dictatorship of the proletariat in our country and the strengthening of bonds and unity between the Party and the masses of the people.

The uncovering, exposing and smashing of the group of secret agents, plotters and terrorists, headed by Mehmet Shehu and Kadri Hazbiu, is a great victory for our Party, our people and our socialist Homeland. This is a major lesson for everybody, therefore, as a Party, as communists, and as a people, we should reflect deeply on these events, the aims and methods the enemy has used. Everyone must be aware that the Party and the country once again coped successfully with a major threat that came from outside and from within.

There are people who are surprised and say: «We've had a narrow escape! We have been in danger!» The danger was great, indeed, but we must be aware that we did not escape from it «by chance». With its constant struggle the Party has always been the organized force which has saved the country and socialism and defeated the great and many forces of external enemies, internal reaction and secret agencies which acted on their orders.

Without going further back than 1939, under the leadership of the Party, our people have waged a continuous relentless struggle of titanic proportions with arms, with politics, with ideology for 42 years on end. The enemies could not conquer us, nor will they ever bring us to our knees.

The external enemies and their secret agents within the country wanted very much Albania to change its correct course. But the line of the Party has been defended with vigilance. The capitalist and revisionist propaganda has blown the big bugles against us, the UDB, the KGB and the CIA have urged their Albanian agents to act.

And these tried in full consciousness and did act several times to harm the Party and the people's state power in an organized manner, sometimes in separate groups, sometimes in collusion . . .

It is an historically known fact that our Party has coped successfully with all the difficult situations it has been faced with. Why has this occurred? This is not the merit of one or five individuals, but the merit of the whole Party and people.

All the traitor groups have had one common denominator: to divert the Party from its Marxist-Leninist revolutionary line and to usurp the state power, to make

it a state of the bourgeoisie and the country dependent on the capitalist and revisionist foreign powers.

No one should befog or cast into oblivion this 42-year long period of struggle or fail to draw lessons and conclusions from it. The struggle of our Party, from the day it was born, has been glorious, despite all difficulties. It is not a tale but a guide to progress. Throughout their history, our people have had many enemies. When the Albanian people were fighting arms in hand against the nazi-fascist occupiers and their collaborators, the Anglo-American imperialists were again scheming to partition our country. These schemes, which figure in the old plans and files of the imperialist powers, are mentioned in international records. They knew that the new people's state power which was being set up in the new Albania would reduce their ambitions to dust and ashes, so they did not recognize our government and did their utmost to prevent us from occupying the place we deserved in the international forums. Our Democratic Government struggled for and won its rights in the international arena. This struggle was not accidental. As Marxists we differentiated between our allies in the anti-fascist war. However, we trusted «our close friends and allies», the Yugoslavs and the Soviets, who, taking advantage of their intimacy with us, secretly furthered their own hostile aims which they eventually manifested with brutal actions against us.

We must always bear in mind that the strategy of the capitalist, imperialist, social-imperialist and revisionist states has been constantly directed against Albania. So much more now and in the future it is and will be hostile to our country, as the only country in which scientific socialism is being faithfully built according to the great Marxist-Leninist principles.

When it comes to their tactics, then it is a different matter. Our country pursues a foreign policy independent of any power or superpower. This is in the interest of many states for various reasons and because of the changing political situations and the contradictions they have with one another, so they often smile at us or praise us.

This should not deceive us or lull us to sleep for any moment or at any time. We, too, have our strategy and tactics. Our strategy, at any time and in any circumstances, is unchangeable: on the internal plane, we are for the complete construction of socialism, for the defence of the Homeland and the gains of our revolution; on the external plane, we are for the overthrow of the capitalist and imperialist state, and for the triumph of the socialist revolution and communism. This we do not conceal, but fight openly and resolutely, unremittingly exposing the modern revisionists of any shape as secret agents and ideological supporters of imperialism. As for our tactics, it is constantly worked out in accordance with the changing political circumstances in the international situations and relations, while never losing sight of our strategy, never violating the Marxist-Leninist principles of the revolution and the class struggle, never swerving from the line of our foreign policy worked out and decided on by the Congresses of the Party. On the basis of the Leninist principle of coexistence, we have diplomatic relations and develop trade, cultural and other exchanges with many countries.

In this context and taking account of the old and new ambitions of the capitalist and revisionist states towards Albania , we have always followed and must continue to follow their secret activities against our country with vigilance, so that we can always cope with them and nip them in the bud.

The capitalist and revisionist states and their secret agencies have acted separately or jointly, as their interests required, but always with the one aim: to annex our territories and to turn them into their military outposts, as well as to liquidate true socialism which is being built in our country.

Our Party and people, along with the struggle against their capitalist or revisionist external enemies, have also waged the struggle to expose and liquidate their secret agents inside the country or those who had penetrated into the Party.

The period of the National Liberation War was a key moment, in which some contingents of secret agents and spies were smashed and dealt mortal blows, but, on the other hand, other secret agencies were revived or created anew, in conformity with and in view of the new situations that were being created in the Second World War in Albania and in other countries.

The contingents of spies in the pay of Italy and Germany and part of the Anglo-American secret agents were smashed during the National Liberation War.

The contingents of secret agents in the service of the Serbs and Greeks and the remainder of the secret agents in the service of the Anglo-Americans saved their skins by joining the National Liberation Front. They covered their tracks on orders from their patrons.

The Titoite group inherited all the Albanian secret agents in the service of the Serbs and, during the National Liberation War, increased their ranks with new recruits.

All the Yugoslav Titoite secret agents, from Koçi Xoxe to Mehmet Shehu and Kadri Hazbiu, were recruited during and after the war. All this secret agency was covered up by the Titoites under the cloak of «Marxist-Leninist friendship» and «the joint anti-fascist war and the work for the construction of socialism.» But their true aim was to annex the new Albanian state, to make it the seventh republic of the Yugoslav Federation. So, they wanted not only to keep Kosova and the other Albanian regions, but also to gobble up the whole of Albania.

The Soviets, likewise, built their secret network, mainly in the ranks of the army men, because the Soviet Union and the Khrushchevite revisionist leadership needed Albania mainly as a military outpost in this neuralgic zone of the Mediterranean, etc.

For a period there was a motley of secret agencies, on the face of it «friendly», but in reality hostile, to one another. The Yugoslav secret agency predominated for some time until 1948, when Koçi Xoxe and his associates were liquidated. Then, the Soviet secret agency strengthened its positions.

If you sell your country only once, you are ready to sell it many times over to one enemy or the other, or to all of them at the same time. This is the impasse and the mentality of secret agents and spies. Mehmet Shehu, an agent in the pay of the Anglo-Americans, became the secret agent of the Yugoslavs. Then, he and Kadri Hazbiu and company from agents of the Yugoslavs became agents of the KGB .

All these groups were manipulated by the expert: hands of foreign secret agencies, which acted in co-ordination to implement their general strategy against the Party of Labour of Albania and socialist Albania. But they also acted separately and often in contradiction and rivalry with one another, and with different tactics in different political situations, and everyone for his own interests. While preserving its contingents, the CIA passed some of its secret agents to the Yugoslavs. The Intelligence Service did the same.

Our Party has had to cope with this great hostility, to fight against intrigues raised to a system, to avoid the traps set up by the plotters, to defend itself against putsches and foil attempts at a reoccupation of our Homeland.

Moreover, it has had to conduct its struggle also in the unhealthy atmosphere created in moments of decisive changes, when the «friend» of yesterday was only a potential enemy.

Our external enemies and their secret agencies within the country and within the Party undervalued the strength of the Party, its revolutionary skill and were dealt lethal blows in succession. This hostile work represented a chain of activities, which only the sword of the Party could sever one by one, as it did.

But it would be an unpardonable mistake to think that the class struggle within the Party and outside it, in any form it appears, in the form of struggle against groups, plots, sabotage or even in the form of struggle against any manifestation alien to our society and people, will come to an end with this purge. It is our duty not to fall asleep.

Comrades, we must bear in mind that the situation in the world, and indeed, not very far from us, is very turbulent.

The capitalist and revisionist countries are in a deep economic and political crisis. The situation is not any better in the neighbouring countries, either. The situation in Yugoslavia is becoming more and more critical and poses a threat to our country and the Balkans. Therefore, a high political, economic and military vigilance is required from us.

Abiding by the line of the Party in the foreign policy, and never for a moment departing from its strategy, the Central Committee of the Party and the Government carefully work out the tactics and stands of our state in its relations with other states. With an active policy and a propaganda based on undeniable truths, the authority and prestige of our Party and socialist state has grown higher and higher not only in the broad progressive opinion, but also among many official political, economic, cultural, scientific and other circles.

World reaction, whether or not in power, hates our system of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the Party of Labour of Albania which leads this small country, and fights them with all possible means.

Our enemies accuse us of having isolated ourselves, but their aim is that socialist Albania should open itself up, that is, should be a prey to the neighbours and to the imperialist, capitalist and revisionist states. World reaction fears small Albania, not because of the number of its population, not because of the size of its territory, or because of its armaments, but because of its ideology and policy, which make our people vigorous, strong and unconquerable. World reaction fears socialist Albania also because it is determined to resist to any attacks; it is not so easily swallowed, and anyone who dares to carry the fire into our land will be burned in it, and we are convinced that we shall win.

The outside threat has always existed and secret activities against our country have always been carried out and we should never for a moment overlook them in the future. The enemy does not lay down its weapons, but we do not lay down our weapons, either, We are inflexible about this and will be so in the future, too.

All these things that are happening around us, outside and inside our country, the crises of the capitalist and the revisionist world, the plots against our country, the pressure, blackmail, and blockades which may eventually be intensified against us should make our whole Party and people to be alert, ready and vigilant, fully mobilized at work and very watchful.

Only with the fulfilment and overfulfilment of plans, only with savings and economy, with scientific organization and management shall we cope with the political and economic pressure of the capitalist and revisionist world, shall we guarantee and maintain a level of material wellbeing that will make socialist Albania and the Party-people unity stronger, the people happier and the future of the younger generations more secure.

Everyone must reflect deeply, not superficially, and open his eyes and exercise vigilance, but the vigilance of a revolutionary party and not a morbid vigilance.

The correct understanding and implementation of the line of the Party favours neither liberalism, nor sectarianism, both of which are dangerous tendencies at any time and in any situation. When we speak about major problems of principle and about respecting the Party norms, these are not slogans to be chanted, while acting differently in practice, without controlling ourselves at every moment and in every action, and without allowing our comrades and relatives to control us. This has nothing to do with «safety control», ours is control by society, control by life, confrontation with the norms of our Party and our socialist society.

Departure of any communist or cadre from the norms of the Party and avoidance of social control not only damages the reputation of the Party, but also has consequences to the violator of these norms. The enemy begins to compromise our people beginning from trifles, from financial transgressions to the breach of communist morality and other offences. Personal and social vigilance, both by the Party and by the masses, should be active in this situation.

Vigilance should not be understood as a monopoly or the duty of a Party forum or state organism only, but as a problem for everyone, for every communist and citizen of the republic.

Revolutionary vigilance, «trust and check up», keeps the situation healthy, morbid vigilance weakens it. The former creates confidence and clarity, the latter creates uncertainty and mistrust. The former educates, the latter miseducates.

We must always bear in mind that violations of Party norms, small waverings in its line, even when they appear as minor manifestations, may accumulate and actually become waverings in the line, and then, from petty-bourgeois actions and ways of thinking develop into opposition to the Party line, to the norms of society and to socialism which we are building in our country, if there is no vigilance and if these violations are not treated correctly and in due time, with all the means and forms which the Party has created on the basis of a long experience. These concessions and waverings lead to the weakening of the class struggle, which is a decisive factor for the advance of our society.

Hence, the ever more profound and broad understanding of the need to observe the norms of the Party and of its leading role everywhere, without excluding the organs of the dictatorship of the proletariat, comes even more to the fore.

The Party should not permit anyone in any sector to misuse the powers or the functions he is invested with.

Carelessness and indifference in this direction are very dangerous to the Party, society and our socialist state.

Comrades.

This major struggle over many decades has convinced our people that their strength in the confrontation with the enemies lies in the Marxist-Leninist line of the Party, in its unity, in the unity of the Party with the people, in the successes this line has made possible for the construction of a truly socialist society, uninterruptedly enriching the consciousness and nature of people and increasing the material blessings of the country.

We must now carry this situation further ahead. This is our duty and only ours, it is the mission of the historical period through which we have lived and are living, and this mission must be clear to the coming generations which must take it over from us unstained.

Therefore, we must always keep our Party pure, defend it from dangers and distortions, and strengthen it politically, ideologically and organizationally.

Long live the Party !

«Always Vigilance», vol. 2

THE PARTY HAS ALWAYS BEEN THE ORGANIZED FORCE WHICH HAS SAVED THE COUNTRY AND SOCIALISM

On 16 and 17 September 1983, the Fourth National Conference of war veterans was held in the capital Tirana. As the beloved leader of the party and the people, Comrade Enver Hoxha went into the stands, all those present raised from the places and there was thunderous applause and jubilation. Enver Hoxha greeted the veterans with his fist raised. During the break of the first session of the conference, Comrade Enver Hoxha met with veterans from different districts of the country. They were very cordial and friendly encounters. The conference sent to Comrade Enver Hoxha, a greeting message. This was unanimously accepted with great enthusiasm and tumultuous cheers.

On September 30, 1983, Comrade Enver Hoxha welcomed a group of workers at his home with whom he had a cordial conversation. Comrade Enver Hoxha said amongst others:

I thank you for the honor that you come to my house and to tell me about your work and your great successes and also to congratulate me for my birthday. On behalf of me and the party, I thank you for and congratulate you to all the success that you have achieved. For my part, I assure you, the party and the people that I, as long as I live - and I hope to live a long time - will not spare me, but will put everything in the service of our great cause, the freedom of the motherland and socialism.

We say and prove that we are the only country in the world which constructs socialism. Everything that we have, we have achieved by ourselves with the effort and the spirit of our daughters and our sons - by the sweat of their brows. Our great reality would not have been built by means of some so-called "socialist" countries. These countries have much more stolen from us under the guise of "help", than they have given us. Not only that, but for their supposed "aid" we have reimbursed everything down to the last penny.

Now the defense of freedom, independence and the sovereignty of the Party of Labour of Albania and the Albanian people is portrayed as alleged "isolation" ! What is "isolation" in the eyes of the enemies ? Simply the fact that we have not sold us out to the strangers, to the world capital, that we did not allow the degeneration of life in our country, that we have not sold us to the superpowers and the other imperialist powers, that we have not sold our socialist homeland, that we do not follow their path into spiritual, economic and military subjugation, as the lordships do, and who curse us and criticize us, to conceal their own bankrupt situation, but which is open to see.

The small socialist Albania is the only country in the world which could not be burried under the revisionist trash heap of history. Our example shows the whole of mankind that socialism can be built successfully if the peoples are guided by the Marxist-Leninist theory and if they rely on their own forces.

We have no rich and poor people. Our people hate luxury and corruption. The life of our people is marked by dignity, through the sense of working, through mutual love and respect. Our socialist system is a creative system. This is a great achievement of our working class, which directs the life of the country in alliance with the peasantry, under the leadership of the party, and which has created all these moral and material goods.

COMRADE ENVER HOXHA RECEIVED A GROUP OF WORKERS AND HAD A CORDIAL TALK WITH THEM

Comrade Enver Hoxha always rejected the allegation of so called "isolationism". However, one year later, in August 1984, the German Fascist Franz Josef Strauß, who was known as an old Nazi-Criminal, was invited by the new revisionists in Albania. This was not at all in accordance with the revolutionary line of comrade Enver Hoxha. It was the strongest pointer yet to an apparent revisionist turn in Albanian foreign policy away from alleged "isolationism". Strauss was the first West European politician to visit Albania since World War II, and he gave credit to the amount of 40 Million Deutsch Mark.



The 75th birthday of comrade Enver Hoxha was celebrated on October 16, 1983.



75th Birthday

October 16, 1983

He received a lot of letters, telegrams and greeting messages from communists and from the whole Albanian people, from the Marxist-Leninist parties and their mass organizations, from Albanian organizations from abroad, and from personalities of different nations. On occasion of his 75th birthday, the new Hydroelectric power station was given the name "Enver Hoxha". A day before his birthday, a concert was held with selected songs by the National Folk Festival, which (dated 6 to 12 October 1983) was held in the birthplace of Enver Hoxha, in Gjirokastra. Comrade Enver Hoxha participated in this celebratory event, spoke with and embraced the artists, thanked and congratulated them. An artist presented a bouquet of flowers with the words "Happy Birthday May you live long as our mountains, for the good of the party, the people and the fatherland."

The Central Committee of the PLA sent a greeting message:

Dear Comrade Enver .

Your life and revolutionary work is for us a shining example from which we learn and will be guided , all our efforts are devoted to the high ideals of communism, the great cause of the party , the revolution and socialism, defending the interests of our people and our beloved socialist motherland.

We , your comrades and students, we have the great luck to work under your leadership, learn from your struggle and your work and be inspired about how we need to strengthen our party continuously, how we unite thoughts and action, how we inseparably connect it with the people who need to consolidate their leading role, how we keep always pure our victorious ideology, Marxism- Leninism. We learn a lot from your method of work and your working style, from the high principled behaviour to resolve any question of the revolutionary, from your vigilance against the enemy and against all alienation, from your wisdom of your judgments and that of your submissions, from your initiative spirit and your communist courage.

We learn from you and apply to the great virtues of our people and working class, the flaming patriotism, the fighting spirit and the sacrifice, the deep love for the comrades and the working people. Proletarian modesty and generosity of our people. With your example, you teach us that the tireless work for the building of socialism , the loyalty to Marxism- Leninism , the boundless love and loyalty to the people and the party are the basic features which identify an active and militant communist.

We assure you , Comrade Enver , that we are always unbending on the Marxist-Leninist path, and that we will faithfully and consistently apply your valuable teachings.

Under your leadership there will always be great victories of our party and our people .

On the occasion of your 75th Birthday , we wish you , dear Comrade Enver, a long and healthy life, always fruitful and fertile fight for the good of the party, for the happiness of our people , the progress and further consolidation of socialism in Albania, for the glory of Marxism- Leninism.

From 3 to 4 October 1983, a scientific conference took place on "Studying the theoretical thinking of the PLA and comrade Enver Hoxha" (under the leadership of the traitor Ramiz Alia). Some of the speakers restored capitalism after the death of comrade Enver Hoxha (for example Sofokli Lazri).

It is not sufficient enough to be only ecocative of the merits of the theoretical thinking of comrade Enver Hoxha. Studying the works of the 5th Classic of Marxism-Leninism means to continue and further develop his struggle in harmony of words and deeds. This was not the aim of Ramiz Alia. His intention was to close the period of comrade Enver Hoxha "with dignity and respect" as a historical period of the past which is left behind. And, indeed, eight years later, he succeed in restoring capitalism. He was a revisionist, thus someone who praises the lessons of comrade Enver Hoxha with the aim to betray it and to destroy the dictatorship of the proletariat. Ramiz Alia misused the personality and work of comrade Enver Hoxha for better hiding his revisionist character. He and his Clique deceived comrade Enver Hoxha, the world proletariat, the Marxist-Leninist world movement and the matter of communism. This is a valuable lesson for all communists - not only for the Albanian communists.



Enver Hoxha

26 - 27 December 1983

From 26 to 27 of December 1983 was the 4th Meeting of the National Assembly in the 10th Legislature period, on which Comrade Enver Hoxha was welcomed.

1984

From 23 to 25 April 1983 Comrade Enver Hoxha took part at 3 Congress of the Writers - Artist Association of Albania. Also writers and artists of different countries were invited who gave the Congress an internationalist character. Greeting messages from all over the world were sent to the Congress.

During a visit in a gallery Comrade Enver Hoxha said in a conversation with the artists on December 24,1981:

You cannot speak of socialism, if you do not speak of art and culture, because they inspire people, open up new horizons for them.

To the artists and writers comrade Enver Hoxha said:

I want to turn to the concrete reality and to emphasize with what a sacred duty and a heavy burden of responsibility our Party and people have charged you writers, poets, artists, composers, painters, sculptors, etc. Like everyone else, you, too, must carry out these tasks conscientiously, with your struggle and toil. Your valuable and delicate work must be inspired by the Marxist-Leninist ideology, because only in this way and by basing yourselves on the people, on their struggle and efforts, will your militant and revolutionary spirit display itself and burst out in your creative works and activity, and thus you will become educators of the masses who accomplish great works.

There are some who think, and think mistakenly, that by making a flying visit to the base, by sitting in a café, cigarette in hand, in order to see the various types whom they want to put in their work passing in the street, or who think that by walking through some factory or plant, they have gathered the necessary material and go home, where they start to write superficially, and sometimes entirely back*to-front, about those things and people that they “photographed”- in passing. Thus the world of such a person is restricted by the narrow petty-bourgeois concept of the role of the writer, and he thinks that his head is capable of doing great things.

To be a writer or a poet does not mean just to have an inclination, to link phrases imaginatively or to create rhyming or non-rhyming verses, it is not sufficient just to have gone through a special school, where you have learned the art and technique of this skill. No! I think that this is not enough. You cannot become a real writer simply because you have talent, if you do not develop this talent, this means, by learning, if you do not work on it, test it, and hammer it into shape on the great anvil of the people and if you do not study a great deal, and first of all, the social and economic sciences. Only in this way will the writers provide the working class and the peasantry with worthwhile works.

The history of our people is an indivisible whole. For purposes of study we may divide it into periods, epochs, on the basis of economic-social development, on the basis of wars and revolutions with arms and pen, etc., but the history of our people is a single whole, and as such it should be made the subject of an all-sided scientific, literary, artistic study by all our people of all fields of creative historical and literary studies, and these should complement one another.

Those who write should keep in mind Marx's idea when he said to Engels: *“Nothing has been, or ever will be, published from my hand that is not perfect.”*

Mistakes are made and will be made, as happens with every work. They should be corrected; criticism should be constructive and not denigrating, and he who is criticized should respond, not with petty-bourgeois pride, which keeps all its sins to itself, but with an open heart.

With those who are confused in their works from the ideological, political and artistic point of view, in content or in form, it is the duty of the Party to correct them with patience. I agree with the criticisms which were made in a correct spirit and with good aims, about two or three plays and some works of prose or poetry. I know that their authors have honestly admitted their mistakes and I am sure that they will not repeat them. I am convinced of this because -they are sons of the Party, in whom the Party has confidence, because they are talented writers, determined to serve their people on the road of the construction of socialist society and socialist culture, and their mistakes can be considered momentary ones. The Party will look after them, will extend its hand* to them, as always.

In regard to literature and the arts which are developing in our country, as in regard to the other issues, there are not two moralities, but only one, the proletarian morality of the working class. The ideas expressed in the works should conform to this morality. A work devoid of ideas and of this morality may occasionally appear to be of some limited interest from the viewpoint of its artistic skill, but from the social ideological viewpoint it cannot have any value. Therefore we should always bear in mind that the maintenance of a stand in literature and the arts is part of the political struggle waged by our Marxist-Leninist Party, in complete unity of thought and action with its people.

LITERATURE AND THE ARTS SHOULD SERVE TO TEMPER PEOPLE WITH CLASS CONSCIOUSNESS FOR THE CONSTRUCTION OF SOCIALISM

- The closing speech delivered at the 15th Plenum of the CC of the PLA -
October 26, 1965

In his report to the 8th Congress of the PLA comrade Enver Hoxha said:

The healthy content and the revolutionary theme, must match a suitable shape and a high level of artistic realization. It is inappropriate to resort to a daily theme and write about the positive hero of the socialist reality, etc.. That alone, without artistic mastery, neither can emotionalise nor educate and inspire us for the present nor for the future. The improvement in the quality of art is a requirement which is created by raising the cultural level and the aesthetic taste of the broad working masses and of the present conditions of development of our society.



On May 1st 1984, comrade Enver Hoxha participated at the celebration of the fighting day of the world proletariat - for the last time.



First May 1984 - Tirana

On May 23 1984, comrade Enver Hoxha sent a greeting message to the participants of the celebrations on occasion of the 40th anniversary of the Congress of Përmeti:

DEAR COMRADES, BROTHERS AND SISTERS,

Today my mind and heart is with you, the valiant, patriotic and hardworking people of Përmet, with the former delegates who the people and the Party chose 40 years ago to go to Përmet on a lofty historic mission, with the former heroic partisans who turned Përmet into an impregnable fortress in those days. On this occasion I greet you from my heart and invite you to cheer again as on 24 of May 1944:

Long live the historic Congress of Përmet! Long live our beloved Albania! Long live our glorious Party!

The new life we are building and enjoying, socialism which marches triumphantly in Albania, the high prestige and authority which our Homeland has everywhere in the world, have their foundations in the great popular war led by the Party, part of which was the 1st Anti-fascist National Liberation Congress of the Albanian people, the name of which will be always connected with the name of your town.

It was here, at the martyred Përmet, which was burned down three times by the fascists and the Germans, but is now free, at the Përmet of the men who fought with the rifle and the pen, of the outstanding Frashëri brothers, Sami, Naim and Abdyl, that the legitimate representatives of the Albanian people who came directly from the bloody battles for the liberation of the Homeland, endorsed and proclaimed world-wide the will of the people for the formation of the Albanian State of the People's Democracy and gave it its legitimate Government.

This extraordinary victory, never achieved before in the centuries-old history of the Albanian people, crowned definitively the far-sighted and all-important policy of our Communist Party, which linked the struggle for the liberation of the Homeland closely with the struggle for the overthrow of the old state power and the setting up of the new state power. At Përmet the people came to power, became masters of their own destinies, opened up a new epoch, the epoch of socialism. Through the historic decisions of the Congress of Përmet and exercising its sovereign right, new Albania liquidated the bitter past of the kings and feudal lords, tore down and threw into the Vjosa River the enslaving treaties and agreements entered into the past, said «stop» once and for good to the ambitions of those who wanted to wrest a slice off Albania, said «stop» to those who wanted to play the policy of the spheres of influence, to cause turbulences and hostilities amongst the peoples, at the expense of Albania. In new Albania such things would never pass, because it had its people as its own masters, had its own glorious party at its head, had brought its legitimate, valiant and revolutionary sons and daughters in command.

With deep emotions and legitimate pride, from the distance of 40 years now we see that everything that was decided and begun in May 1944 at Përmet has been carried out, defended, and further developed day by day with consistency, wisdom and heroism. All this has been achieved with much sweat, through great efforts and sacrifice, without stretching out our hand to anyone, without disturbing anyone and never allowing anyone, internal and external enemies, big and small imperialist, social-imperialist or chauvinist powers to violate the victories achieved, to swerve us from our revolutionary road. The 40 years that have elapsed are, in this sense, a glorious school of our triumphant revolution as well as a great guarantee that just as today, we, our sons and daughters, all our wonderful people will march in this way tomorrow and always in the future.

Therefore, comrades, my dear fellow fighters, former delegates to the 1st Anti-fascist Congress of Përmet, let us strengthen and carry forward the great and immortal work we began on May 24, 1944.

It does not matter that we are gray and wrinkled all over. We remain young, because we live, work and rejoice the eternal youth of the Homeland, because our ideals and work are and will be always new, because socialist Albania is and will remain always young!

Greetings to you all!

Congratulations on the celebration of the historic Congress of Përmet!

Long live our people!

Long live our Party!

Yours

ENVER HOXHA

In June 1984, the book "Among ordinary people" (Memories) was published. The essays of this work belong to the series of memories of Comrade Enver Hoxha at the years of the National Liberation War. They reflect events and his impressions mainly reflected in two of the hardest and most difficult periods of struggle (spring and summer 1942 in Tirana - and during the hostile winter operation 1943-1944 in the districts of Elbasan, Librazhd, Gramsh, and Korça - where comrade Enver Hoxha was housed and protected).

In the pages of the book's is described lovingly and accurately the portrait of the ordinary , brave and patriotic people. The book "Among ordinary people" appeared at the 40th Anniversary of the liberation of Albania. It is an expression of deep respect, gratitude, and the great respect of the party and Comrade Enver Hoxha towards the brave, freedom-loving Albanian people, all the people in all parts of the country, in the years of the national liberation struggle, who were following the party's call, who struggled for the liberation of Albania, for the triumph of the revolution, for the establishment of people's power:

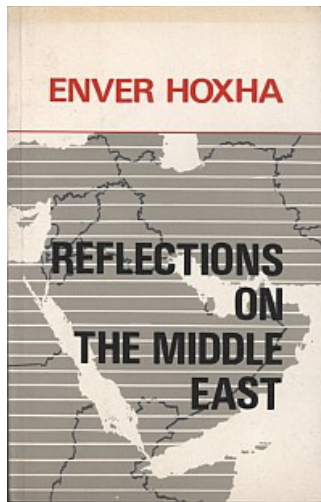
Other times, the party should be encircled by brutal enemies. But in the same way as the party managed to defeat the hostile winter operation, the party would uncover and smash all extortions, conspiracies and blockages in the future. Our party would never be intimidated. The Party knew: it was willing to sacrifice itself for the people, while the people were ready to sacrifice themselves for the party.

[[Mes njerëzve të thjeshtë](#) - published in Albanian language]

On the 5th Meeting of the National Assembly, from 18 to 19 June 1984 was held, the Comrade Enver Hoxha was no longer present.

ENVER HOXHA

**REFLECTIONS
ON
THE MIDDLE
EAST**



"Reflections on the Near and Middle East"

In July 1984 his book was published. This work belongs to the series of works which were taken from the "Political Diary". It contains notes, observations and analyzes in connection with the events in the Middle East from the period 1958 to end 1983.

In this book, the roots of the conflicts in the Arab world are revealed. It unmasks the open and hidden enemies of the peoples of the Near and Middle East. The intrigues, conspiracies and rivalries between the imperialist powers and their interference are exposed. Comrade Enver Hoxha described all their efforts to subjugate and plunder the peoples of this region. At the same time, the resistance and the struggle of these peoples is recognized for freedom and independence. Their excellent traditions, art and culture were honored condignly.

These materials reflect some of the most important moments and events from the inhuman imperialist activities of the superpowers and Israel as well as aspects of the heroic struggle of the Palestinian people and other Arab peoples, the Afghan and Iranian peoples against the plots of the two superpowers. From time to time comrade Enver Hoxha had recorded some of his personal ideas and feelings, the grief which he has felt over the misfortunes and injustices which have been inflicted on these peoples as well as his great joy over their exemplary struggle for their freedom and national independence against the savage Israeli, imperialist and social-imperialist occupiers and enemies.

In this new book by Comrade Enver Hoxha the reader finds correct answers to why so many wars have been waged in that region of the world; why the Middle East crisis has assumed today such large proportions as to the dangers and consequences inherent in it that it influences the entire world situation; what has transformed the Middle East into an extremely dangerous hotbed of endless conflicts;

While following the events as they have developed in the Near and Middle East and writing about them at the moments when they have occurred, comrade Enver Hoxha made an all-round analysis of them, based on historical materialism and the fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism, discloses their internal and external causes, their complexity and interconnection, and makes assessments and predictions the accuracy of which has been fully confirmed by the development of events in subsequent periods.

Proceeding from imperialist strategy and this policy, time after time the United States of America has dispatched thousands of marines and hundreds of warships to the waters of the Mediterranean, the Red Sea, the Persian Gulf, etc., in order to subjugate the peoples of the countries of the Middle East by military force.

Passing from one article to the other, the reader also sees what place Israel occupies and the role it has played and is playing in the context of the anti-Arab general strategy of American imperialism, what efforts the United States of America has made and is still making to ensure «secure borders», that is, borders which include all the Arab territories occupied by armed force, for its «pistol» in this region. The basis of the American-Israeli friendship and the political, economic and military alliances between them has always been and still is their common hostility and wars against the Arab peoples.

Also of great current value are the articles in which, through many facts and arguments, the policy of the Soviet social-imperialists in the Middle East is unmasked. They present themselves as friends and saviours of the Arab peoples but at the most critical moments have betrayed these peoples and left them in the lurch.

Many materials show what features the policy of the Soviet social-imperialists has in common with the policy of the American imperialists, what brings these two superpowers together, and what has impelled them to collide in fierce open clashes, before the eyes of the world or behind the scenes for many years, and to trample on the freedom, independence and national and social interests of the impoverished and hard-working peoples of the countries of the Middle East.

In the book «Reflections on the Near and Middle East» a prominent place is given to materials which assess the anti-feudal and anti-imperialist uprisings of the peoples of the Middle East, for instance the heroic struggle of the martyred Palestinian people, the Iranian popular revolution, the struggle of the Afghan people against the Soviet social-imperialist occupiers, etc. A special place in the book is devoted to the problem of the energy crisis and, in this context, to the role of the Middle-East countries which are some of the biggest oil producers in the world, in this crisis which has gripped all the capitalist and revisionist countries, and to stressing the power of oil as a weapon to defend the freedom and independence and assets of the Arab peoples from the imperialist powers.

Israel, a state spawned by imperialism and reactionary Zionism in the Near East, is like a pistol amidst the Arab peoples and states, in this zone of economic and military importance. This region has been a centre of clashes between British, French, American and various other imperialists.

While oppressing the Arab peoples, trampling their freedom, independence, rights and sovereignty underfoot, all these wolves have mercilessly exploited the wealth of the countries which make up this region, and in order to perpetuate this exploitation they have built up a broad network of agents, some of whom they placed at the head of these peoples and defended with their colonial armies and their gun-boat diplomacy. However, with the passage of time, through the struggle of the Arab peoples themselves, which is part of the general struggle against nazi-fascism yesterday and against imperialism today, these peoples won their freedom and independence, created and consolidated their sovereign states. Some of them, however, are headed by cliques of capitalists and mediaeval feudal lords, who not only keep their peoples under savage oppression, but are blind tools, sold out to the British and American imperialists. (May 25, 1967)

The article «The Soviet Revisionists — Betrayers of the Arab Peoples' Cause», has been sent to the newspaper «Zëri i popullit» [Published on June 8, 1967 (Enver Hoxha, Works, vol. 35, «8 Nëntori» Publishing House, Tirana 1982, p. 416, Alb ed.)].

THE MIDDLE EAST — A HOT ZONE

The Middle East is populated by various peoples and tribes. They all call themselves Arabs, but do not all have the same origin. The religion that allegedly unites them is Islam, but an Islam divided into various sects of ancient origin which have fought one another for centuries, caused bloodshed among the peoples and became the banners of various leaders in mediaeval and modern times and, indeed, in our time.

Today, the religion which still inspires these peoples in the Middle East, does not present itself so divided by the sects, although these exist and have their followers. There is, you might say, a certain coexistence among them under the general cover of the Moslem religion. However, modern development, the spread of materialist ideas and science, have greatly weakened the influence of religion and have obliged it to preach general ideas and to retain only the formal application of its traditional practices. Nevertheless, we are far from being able to say that the Arab peoples in the Middle East have escaped from the religious belief.

Living amongst these peoples, there are also followers of the Orthodox faith (the Copts) and the Jews. The latter, with the aid of the Anglo-American imperialists, have created their state of Israel, the spawn of the manoeuvres of international capital and Zionism.

The Moslem religion has been tolerant and liberal towards other faiths and, in the course of history, there have been no burning problems amongst them, although I am referring to modern times and not the times of the Crusades.

Now the Arab-Israeli conflict has become an acute problem in the Middle East.

In my opinion, however, the main cause of the crisis in the Middle East is not the existence of the state of Israel. The state of Israel as a dynamic, aggressive, capitalist state, has lined itself up actively with the enslaving plans of world imperialism, especially of American imperialism to keep the whole Middle East in bondage.

From this standpoint, the state of Israel, and this is not the only one, has become the «arrowhead» of American imperialism. Israel is a satellite of the Americans, which follows and applies the American strategy, in general, although in some cases it seems as though Israel «acts on its own», but this is only tactics and pressure which it uses, relying on the support of big Zionist capital and the large numbers of Jewish voters in the USA.

The main reason for the crisis in the Middle East is the striving for domination of American imperialism and other colonialist forces which are struggling to retain their old domination in this zone, their colonialist economic, political, military and other domination. In the past it was easier for these imperialist powers to make the law in the Middle East countries, not only because they were in complete control of their economies but also because, from the political standpoint, the monarchs and the feudal lords were all theirs and, as well, they had their armies of occupation.

Today the imperialists find it more difficult to exercise their domination in these countries, therefore their manoeuvres are more varied and sophisticated. Now the states which form the zone called the Middle East have organized themselves more strongly than before, have more clearly defined borders, and more organized state apparatuses, economies and armies. Outwardly, these states pursue «independent, democratic and sovereign» internal and foreign policies, specific to this or that state. It is precisely on the basis of these facts, these transformations, this new situation, that imperialism and modern revisionism are manoeuvring, manipulating and intriguing.

These manoeuvres and intrigues between major colonialist powers have become very complicated and express the antagonism between them; they are struggling to consolidate the bourgeoisie in each state of the zone, to conserve feudalism and its old representatives, against the awakening of the Arab peoples, against the revolution and uprising of the masses, to consolidate the spheres of influence by the major imperialist-revisionist states, for oil, for strategic military positions, with a view to a new capitalist world war to redivide the world.

This whole complex of problems is the cause of the crisis in the Middle East, which is nothing but a hot zone of acute tension stemming from the grave crisis which the capitalist-imperialist world, headed by American imperialism and modern revisionism, headed by Soviet revisionism, is experiencing. (January 6, 1969)

THE REVOLUTION OF THE IRANIAN PEOPLE HAS TRIUMPHED

The popular revolution in Iran has triumphed, the feudal monarchy of the Pahlavis has been overthrown. This is a great triumph for the broad masses of the revolutionary Iranian people, who have fought persistently for years on end with valour and self-sacrifice and in the last three or four months have struck the decisive blow at the detested monarchy of the Shah, Mohammed Riza Pahlavi.

This anti-feudal and anti-imperialist revolution of the Iranian people is markedly influenced by the spirit of the Shia mullahs, headed by Ayatollah Khomeini, the successor to Ayatollah Kashani, who was the leader of the Shia sect in Iran at the time of Mossadeq. The fact that they have influence cannot be denied, but their influence, however it may be dressed up in a democratic cloak, is nothing but a consequence of a retrograde idealist philosophy just as mediaeval as that of the monarchic regime.

But the times require that they establish in Iran, under this cloak and this philosophy, a so-called Islamic Republic, which sooner or later might strengthen the foundations of a reactionary state power and establish links, new ones, of course, and in forms somewhat more favourable to Iran, with American imperialism and the other imperialists.

The «Tudeh» Party which, as far as we know, is under the influence of the Soviets, did not remain idle. In this revolution the progressive anti-imperialist elements and the Marxist-Leninists could not have been a major force. They were still lacking the necessary formation. But during this revolution they learned how to fight. Now their task is to consolidate themselves and to insist, by means of the broad masses of the people, that this revolution of a bourgeois-democratic character should advance and gradually free itself from the Shia idealist ideology. Hence, they should be the first to expropriate the property of feudals and capitalists, making it the property of the whole people, to carry out the agrarian reform, an agrarian reform not just in words but in the interests of the poor and middle peasants of Iran. Likewise, they must deepen the revolution, impelling the advance of the great revolutionary force of the Iranian proletariat, of the workers of the oil industry and other sectors of industry, because American imperialism has invested large amounts of capital in Iran, has built modern refineries and also various other factories in which a working class large in number is employed.

Hence, without immediately becoming involved in struggle on all fronts with the Shia movement, which seems to have a stronger influence in Iran, the Iranian Marxist-Leninists, the revolutionaries and progressive elements must aim their efforts to oppose the idealist philosophy of this movement, because already we see that these religious zealots have gone into action.

The Marxist-Leninists, the progressive elements of various classes must free themselves of the shackles of religion and of the religious ideology and teachings, above all, the women must be liberated from Islamic slavery, the veils which they are forced to wear must be done away with, so that the women uncover their faces. The women must start work in factories and everywhere else. In Iran, a country in which a mediaeval religious fascist and imperialist regime has prevailed right up to these days, the women comprise half the population and, as in every other country, they are one of the most revolutionary forces, second only to the proletariat.

The revolutionaries and Marxist-Leninists of Iran, the proletariat itself, must have learned from the savage exploitation which American, British and French imperialism and all world capitalism have imposed on them, therefore they must no longer allow the wealth of their country to be shared out again in different proportions amongst these same imperialists. Naturally, Iran cannot exist in isolation. It cannot fail to produce and sell oil. Oil is a great wealth of that country, but it is also a vital sinew for the Western world, especially for world capitalism, which could go as far as waging war over the Iranian petroleum.

Iran could be a field of battle between American and world imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism.

Thus, knowing that the importance of Iran is based mainly on its oil, and all of them will fight for the oil, the Iranian revolutionaries must be vigilant on this question. According to what the foreign news agencies say, influential people consider the blockade of Iranian oil much more terrible than the blockade of Berlin, the war in Korea, or the war in Vietnam. It is a fact that the events in Iran, the four-month strike by the oil extraction workers, have caused the capitalist industry of Europe and America losses from which it will take them at least two years to recover.

Therefore this is an acute problem. If the Iranians stick firmly to these revolutionary positions and proceed in the future with serious persistence, this action of theirs will certainly have a great influence on the other countries of the Middle East, too. The situation, the present objectively revolutionary situation, the subjective aspect of which is dominated by the religious idealist element, must develop still further. That powerful element must be gradually outflanked by means of more progressive alliances, or by hindering it in those actions which are harmful to the interests of the people, precisely by means of the great revolutionary strength of the people.

The Iranian people must be made aware that they themselves achieved the victory, that it was a result of their struggle and it was not won by Ayatollah Khomeini, Allah, hazret Ali or hazret Hussein. There has been, is and certainly will be in the future, a great deal of talk about the Islamic inspiration of this revolution, but the decisive factor in it was the fight of the people and the workers who were shot down in the streets, against the Shah, against his mediaeval empire and against imperialism, to win a free life and a happier future, a genuine democracy until the socialist revolution is achieved.

TUESDAY - FEBRUARY 13, 1979

THESES FOR A NEW ARTICLE ABOUT THE EVENTS IN IRAN

The revolution of the Iranian people which overthrew the mediaeval feudal monarchy of the Shah of Iran also struck a heavy blow at the imperialist powers, especially American imperialism.

Lenin's thesis that the present epoch is the epoch of revolutions and the dictatorship of the proletariat is being confirmed. Now the revolution is not just an aspiration but a problem on the agenda, and the uprising of the Iranian people confirms this thesis. With world developments in their present state, this revolution will certainly be followed by other revolutions, of course, of varying intensity. The example of Iran will have an influence in other countries, thus assisting the liberation struggle of all oppressed peoples.

The inspiration in this revolution against the feudal dynasty of the Shah, Mohammed Riza Pahlavi, and imperialism is not merely religious and idealist, but has also a progressive democratic character. The popular masses displayed their eagerness for major transformations, for the land reform, for a really progressive cultural development, for the elimination of the backwardness of the people and the women and girls of Iran who, coming out in the streets to fight, engaged in bloody clashes with SAVAK and the Imperial Guard. For these masses it was not the problem of the Islamic religion, but the problem of the liberation of the people, of the working class, of the peasantry, the women and the youth of that country that presented itself.

Lenin said about the revolution, that this is a serious issue which, if you involve yourself in it, you must carry through to the end. In this way we should warn the people of Iran to be vigilant, so that they do not allow themselves to fall once more under the yoke of foreign imperialists, whether American, Soviet or others, who will certainly intrigue and try by means of compromises and bribery to corrupt the corruptable, to regain control of their old concessions and positions through other «new» forms, with great profits for themselves and losses for the people of Iran. To prevent this from coming about the old state power must be smashed to its foundations and new organs of state power created, a new Constitution of theirs must be prepared and this must borrow nothing from the so-called democracy of the bourgeoisie. On the question of the organization of the state, the Iranian people must not allow the feudal bourgeoisie to infiltrate into its institutions, but must

take complete control of these institutions themselves, placing in them their most faithful representatives who will carry out real major social and economic reforms.

One cannot go on to the proletarian revolution immediately. The progressive forces must gain ground gradually, winning sound democratic and progressive positions against all reactionary elements, especially against remnants of the backward feudalism of the past that will resist the revolution.

The article should also stress the fact that the Iranian people have to take proper account of the strategic position of their country and all the means they have in their hands to defend the victories of the revolution. Oil is the strongest weapon they hold, because it is known that whoever has the oil has the strength in Iran. Therefore, the working class must never allow anybody to wrest this powerful weapon from them.

Throughout the Iranian revolution, during the past four months in particular, the oil has continued to shake the capitalist world. Therefore, we should point out that the people of Iran must be made conscious of the need to keep a firm grip on this weapon, to fear neither the Americans, the Soviets, nor the other coalitions, to have no fear of isolation and to defend their wealth with determination. By utilizing the developing situation with proper wisdom, always bearing in mind the interests of their homeland and the interests of the other peoples of the world who are fighting for freedom, a country in revolution, which has control of such a weapon as oil, which has such a courageous people who overthrew a rotten old world, such as the empire and dynasty of the Pahlavis was, in order to build a new life, is capable of resisting all enemies.

The Iranian people ought to consider that their struggle also assists the liberation struggle of all peoples. For this we Albanians have exceptionally great respect and bow in honour to the fallen heroes who fought in the streets of the Iranian cities and gave their lives for this victory.

The Marxist-Leninist communists and the genuine revolutionaries must be in the forefront of the struggle and at these moments should be neither sectarian nor opportunist and in no instance play the game of those who, under whatever disguise they present themselves, will try through a thousand and one tricks to deceive the people, to hinder the radical reforms and serve the superpowers.

The revolution cannot be carried out without violence. In the case of Iran hundreds and thousands of people were killed in the streets by the Shah's gangs. The revolution triumphed there, but it was won at the cost of bloodshed.

WEDNESDAY - FEBRUARY 14, 1979

NEW THESES FOR THE ARTICLE ON THE EVENTS IN IRAN

Our Party has defended the important theses of Marxism-Leninism that the revolution is won with violence, that the revolution is on the agenda today, that many local cliques are in the service of imperialism and if they are not combated, the fight against imperialism cannot be successful. The events in Iran confirm the correctness of these theses and it should be pointed out that what occurred in Iran will occur in other countries, too.

The working class took up arms and came out in the streets, hurled itself into the struggle, boycotted the administration of the Shah, shook American imperialism and the whole western capitalist world by standing in the forefront of the struggle of the Iranian people to escape from the savage exploitation of the Shah and foreign imperialists. With the fight it waged and the role it played in this anti-feudal and anti-imperialist democratic revolution, the Iranian working class demonstrated to the world that it is the only social force to which the future belongs.

On the basis of Lenin's teachings the working class is the only class which must lead the revolution.

The uprising of the people of Iran, led by the working class, proves the opposite of what the bourgeoisie and revisionists preach about the role of this class in the revolution. It was precisely the Iranian working class which shook the rotten bourgeois world to its foundations, however, it must be vigilant to avoid becoming downtrodden again. What occurred in Iran will occur in all the other so-called independent and democratic countries, whether monarchies or republics, in which the people are oppressed by the big bourgeoisie closely linked with foreigners.

The revolution of the Iranian people against the monarchy and imperialism is an event of major world importance.

THURSDAY - FEBRUARY 15, 1979

SOME THOUGHTS ABOUT THE EVENTS IN IRAN AND THE PRESENT SITUATION

The anti-imperialist revolution of the Iranian people will have major repercussions, not just in the Middle East, but throughout the whole world, especially in the capitalist-revisionist imperialist world.

The Iranian people had been left in the dark ages, in backwardness, especially in the countryside, where the big landowners made the mediaeval law. Even that industrial pseudo-modernization which was seen in the cities, especially in the capital and other main cities such as Isfahan, etc., was a forced industrialization created by a great inflation of the petrol dollar which had not lifted the Iranian working people out of poverty and want. The oppressed and exploited Iranian working class is a truly heroic class, the Iranians are an intelligent people with a manysided ancient culture, who have produced great men, but the British imperialist exploiters and later, the American exploiters, operated together in such a way that the people were left in backwardness, while the wealth of Iran, the land and its underground riches passed into the possession of the exploiters. The whole of Iran was to become the property of world capitalism.

People from the Iranian working class, from the workers of the oil industry and all other branches of the economy, were in the forefront of this revolution.

The people rose and marched forward in bloody demonstrations even though the Shah, thinking that he could intimidate them, ordered his troops to open fire and hundreds and thousands of people were killed.

I think that this anti-imperialist revolution of the Iranian people had a class character, was in essence a social revolution and not a revolution of a religious character.

Hence, we cannot consider it an Islamic revolution. They call it an Islamic revolution for many reasons, the main one being that they want to conceal a great truth from the broad masses of the people; namely, that the internal exploiting classes, which are closely linked with the foreign imperialists, can be overthrown only through a class revolution. That is why attempts are made to describe uprisings of this kind as allegedly inspired by religion. So we see once again that religion is always used as an element moderating and inhibiting revolutionary actions, that is, an idealist element.

Apart from this the western world, the capitalist world, wants to depict the revolution of the Iranian people not as a class struggle but as a religious struggle, in order to create the false idea that the Islamic world is rising against the Christian world. That is, it wants to turn the revolutionary moments which exist at present and which are demanding solution, the moments of proletarian revolutions, as Engels calls them, into mediaeval religious wars like those between Catholics and Protestants, in other words, wants to turn the clock back to the time of the crusades.

According to the capitalist world, the crusades are being repeated in the Middle East, allegedly over who should hold Jerusalem, who should have alliances with Syria, who should be on good terms with Lebanon, with the Christians or the Moslems of Lebanon, and other such tales.

It is true that the Arab world, in general, professes the Moslem religion, but in this Arab world there is also a sense of hatred for internal oppressors and foreign imperialists who, in order to rule, are intriguing in every direction, setting one people against the other, and when they see that they are losing, as is occurring in Iran at present, they try to give the anti-feudal and antiimperialist national liberation struggle the colour of an anti-scientific Islamic religious struggle.

They are doing this precisely at the moment when world capitalism is going through a great crisis from which it is unable to find any way out. All these anti-imperialist social revolutions, however, result from the hatred of the people for those who suck their blood. It is the blood-suckers who cause the discontent, the great strikes in the United States of America, in Britain, France, Italy, the Soviet Union and elsewhere. Meanwhile the purpose of the imperialists, with these colours in which they want to depict such movements as that in Iran, is to tell the strikers in their own countries: see with what sort of people we have to deal, ignorant oafs, who want to take the world back to the Middle Ages, who want to return to religious wars, that is why we are obliged to close factories, to throw the workers out in the streets, to raise prices, to reduce wages, because there are no supplies of oil. Hence, not we capitalists, but the Moslem peoples, the Arab peoples, are the culprits.

There is a diabolical purpose in this, which we must expose. The wars for national and social liberation, whether in the Middle East, Africa or elsewhere, are wars with a national liberation and anti-imperialist character. Although, for one reason or the other, the proletariat is not at the head of the masses of the people in these wars and does not have its own party, in the revolutionary situations that will be created in the future the progressive elements, in alliance with the poor peasantry demanding land, will create the conditions in which the fighting proletariat must hurl itself into struggle, and the genuine party of the proletariat, the genuine leadership of the state, and the genuine popular army will emerge, an army which will serve the people and not the new theocratic bourgeoisie, this time cloaked in allegedly democratic forms.

In regard to Iran, it is a fact that the proletariat, the workers of the oil industry who

took part in the people's uprising, triumphed.

The progressive Iranians must continue the revolution, passing from one stage to the other, and at each stage finding solutions to important problems through radical reforms and not superficial, false reforms just for appearances, because all will try to calm this situation.

With the expulsion from Iran of the Shah, who had become the gendarme of the United States of America in the Middle East and the Persian Gulf, the main oil supplies to Israel were cut off. Hence, the dangers are great. Therefore, we must follow these matters with great vigilance and special attention in order to see how and in whose favour they will be settled.

We must explain things clearly and openly, just as they are, to those who want to listen to us, without hurting the religious feelings of the Arab peoples in this great revolutionary class movement. At the same time, in one way or another, we must tell them that this is not an Islamic war, as Carter and others claim, but a struggle, a revolution of the poor against the rich.

(February 1979)

We are witnesses to the fact that the flow of events in the Middle East is not going in the way that the imperialists, the socialistimperialists and world reaction desire. The Arab peoples of this great oil-bearing zone have awoken, have risen and are boldly demanding to take their fate into their own hands. In many Arab countries a just struggle is being waged against all types of imperialism, colonialism and neocolonialism and their economic-political and military potentates. This is a positive development which all should support, because it represents revolutionary progress, the future, and responds to the interests and desires of peoples who are aware of their oppression, who live in poverty and ignorance, even though the countries in which they live were the cradle of a brilliant civilization and contain great wealth which, if it were not plundered by foreigners, could bring them well-being, longer life, and the capacity to defend themselves against their savage enemies.

When this resolute and just struggle of the Arab peoples against world imperialism and its local tools and lackeys, this mounting revolution, frees itself from the negative aspects of the religion which is still clinging to dominant positions, which plays an inhibiting role and frequently incites wars between Shia, Sunni and other factions, then it will certainly end with the victory of the Arab peoples more than a hundred million strong, and will mark a new stage and a new page in the history of mankind. **(August 1983)**

The year 1983 proved once again that the Middle East crisis cannot be resolved through the «package political plans» or the «mediation and aid» of the two superpowers. On the contrary, they are trying to prolong this crisis as much as possible because only in this way can they realize their plans to sabotage and undermine the movements for national and social liberation of the Arab peoples, continue to ensure colossal profits from the trafficking in arms and maintain their control of the extraction and processing of Arab oil, which entails the enslavement, oppression and exploitation of the Arab peoples.

However, the crisis in the Middle East can never be solved until the martyred Palestinian people regain their homeland stolen from them by the Israeli aggressors, and this will be achieved only when the political, economic and military influence of the superpowers and the other imperialist powers has been dealt powerful blows and been totally rejected by all the Arab peoples.

In this sense, this year showed that the primary question which faces the Palestinian people, the Lebanese people, the Afghan people, the Iranian people and all the other Arab and non-Arab peoples of the Middle East is to avoid falling again into the traps and the misleading and disruptive plots of the superpowers, the United States of America and the Soviet Union, and Israel. They must establish and strengthen genuine unity among themselves in order to resist and overcome the united forces of Israel, the American imperialists, the Soviet social-imperialists and the local feudal-bourgeois reactionary circles. Only resolute, uncompromising struggle, based on genuine Arab unity, will lead them to victory, to true independence and freedom so that they can utilize their colossal wealth, their oil, for their national development and social progress.
(December 1983)



Shortly before his death comrade Enver Hoxha sent a series of greeting messages on occasion of some celebrations of anniversaries. Here, they will be presented - mostly in full length.

Here is the greeting message of comrade Enver Hoxha that he sent to the ex-delegates of the 1st Congress of the Anti-fascist Youth Union of Albania on August 7, 1984:

Dear comrade ex-delegates to the 1st Congress of the Anti-fascist Youth Union of Albania.

Congratulations on the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the 1st Congress of the Anti-fascist Youth Union of Albania!

I greet you, the ex-delegates to this Congress, as well as the representatives of the new generations who have come together with you to Helmës to take part in this great festivity. I wish I were with you there, where 40 years ago we worked for some months amongst the brave, patriotic and noble-minded people, not only of this village, but also of all Skrapar district.

I envy you the opportunity you have of meeting together at the beautiful plain of Lirëza. With my mind's eyes I see the field dotted with white tents, the «hall» of the congress which, although it was a far cry from the halls of our present sports palaces, still had a sort of strange beauty with its wooden stools and tables wafting the sweet fragrance of those mountains. However, I feel your joy and take part in it. I hope your joy will never end, because both you, the ex-delegates, and all our wonderful youth fully deserve to be joyful and happy.

On that unforgettable August day you came to your congress to report on your heroic battles and to pledge that you would carry them through to the end, to the complete liberation of the country and the building of new Albania. And you kept your word: in our free Homeland you built railways and factories, erected and ran schools, became cadres and served on various fronts for the strengthening of the Party, the people's power and the People's Army.

Hundreds of thousands of other young men and women have followed and are following now in the road the Party leads them, in the road you and many of your heroic comrades, such as Qemal Stafa and Misto Mame, Manush Alimani and Kastriot Muço, Margarita Tutulani, Ajeta Xhindole and many others who laid down their lives for these happy days, have opened for our people.

The Albanian Labour Youth Union has come to all its congresses with ever new achievements in the field of industrial, agricultural, educational, political-ideological and cultural-scientific development. We are proud of our youth, always brave, persistent at work and lessons, vigilant in the defence of the gains of socialism and Marxism-Leninism. We have a youth as pure as the limpid air and the crystal-clear waters of the mountains in which you have come together. And so will the wonderful youth of Albania remain for ever, a youth morally sound, full of energy, revolutionary and immune to any illness which has affected whole contingents of the youth in the capitalist and revisionist countries.

Comrades,

You are celebrating the 40th anniversary of the 1st Congress of your militant organization in the revolutionary atmosphere which has enveloped the working class, the cooperativist peasantry, the youth, the women, young and old, in our country which is preparing itself to meet the 40th anniversary of the Liberation of the Homeland and the establishment of the people's power with ever greater achievements. More than ever united round the Party, our youth comes to the great festivity of the 40th anniversary of Liberation proud of their many victories, ready to engage in other and even greater battles. The Party has entrusted the youth with the historic task of carrying the revolution and socialism always forward, of defending the socialist Homeland with vigilance and even with their blood. I am convinced that you will always remain first-line fighters, closely linked with the people, brave, wise and indomitable in the faithful implementation and loyal defence of the line of the Party for the construction of socialism and the happiness of the generations of eternal youth.

Embracing you with love, I wish all of you good health, persistence at work and lessons, and happiness in life.

Long live our heroic youth and its militant organization - the Albanian Labour Youth Union!

Yours

ENVER HOXHA

Durrës, August 7, 1984

On October 20 1984, there was a great Gymnastics - and Sports Festival Day in "Qemal Stafa" - Stadium with 24 000 boys and girls. This event was organized on occasion of the 40th anniversary of the Liberation and people's revolution of Albania. Also comrade Enver Hoxha was present.

**COMRADE ENVER HOXHA ADDRESSED A MESSAGE OF GREETINGS
TO THE PARTICIPANTS IN THE CELEBRATION OF THE 40th
ANNIVERSARY OF THE 2nd MEETING OF THE ANTI-FASCIST
NATIONAL LIBERATION COUNCIL - Tirana, October 21, 1984:**

Dear comrades, sisters and brothers,

All our people together with you, ex-members of the Anti-fascist National Liberation Council, and the patriotic, courageous and generous inhabitants of the district of Berat, today celebrate the 40th anniversary of the 2nd Meeting of the Anti-fascist National Liberation Council which gave Albania its first Democratic Government. On the occasion of this anniversary, one of the most brilliant in the history of the great National Liberation War of our country, I congratulate you and wish you from my heart: a happy day.

Four decades have gone by from that unforgettable historic event, but in my mind I retain the indelible memory of our arrival at Berat late one night after two days of travelling through the mountains of heroic Skrapar, the hospitality and undescrivable enthusiasm of the people of your city and the surrounding villages who learned about the arrival of the Antifascist Committee and the General Staff, their boundless enthusiasm and fiery cheers for the Party, for the Democratic Government, for free Albania and for our glorious National Liberation Army, with which they accompanied us in every step. The rejoicing of the people, their songs, the ardent words and greetings which were addressed to us, their sons, in those days of great joy, expressed their unshakeable faith in the leadership of the Party and in the new Albanian State which had laid its foundations in the Congress of Përmet a few months ago. This faith was born and cemented in the great National Liberation War, in the gigantic efforts of the people led with wisdom and revolutionary courage by the Party for the liberation of the country and the establishment of the new people's state power.

The festive atmosphere of those fiery days in Berat was reflected more than in anything else in the simple hall decorated with flags, with fresh flowers and laurel branches, in which the historical meeting carried out its proceedings. The enthusiasm and continuing applause which accompanied the discussions of the comrades are beyond description. They reached their highest when the members of the Anti-fascist Council, democratically elected in Përmet, voted unanimously together with the people, who filled half of the hall, boxes and gallery, with their raised fists, for the transformation of the Anti-fascist National Liberation Committee into the Democratic Government. This was the expression of the approval which our whole people gave the immortal work of the Party, the fulfilment of the wishes and aspirations which were becoming a reality before their eyes on the eve of the complete liberation of the Homeland. This unprecedented and very touching manifestation of the unity of the people around the Party showed the Yugoslavs, the British and the Americans, too, who at that time passed as friends, comrades and allies, how closely linked with one another were the people with the Party, and how difficult, indeed, impossible, it was to sabotage the victories of the people's revolution in Albania with intrigues, behind-the-scenes deals, threats, flattery and empty promises.

The historic decisions of the 2nd Meeting of the Anti-fascist National Liberation Council constituted a great political victory for our people, who under the leadership of the Party, at the cost of blood and sacrifices, had liberated until that time over three fourths of the territory of Albania and had become a sound basis for the imminent final victory over the nazi occupiers and internal reaction. The Meeting of Berat sealed the seizure of the political power by our working masses, legitimized the first Democratic Government of the new Albania. The coming generations will never forget its historic decisions, which further strengthened the new power born in the fire of the heroic war which our people waged against the savage nazi-fascist enemies and their tools, the bourgeoisie, beys, bayraktars and landowners, who had betrayed the supreme interests of the people and the Homeland.

The program of the Government was charged with onerous tasks for the difficult conditions of that time, therefore, all of us went down to work immediately for their implementation in practice. How remote seems the time when each state department occupied only one room in the house at the end of the Mangalem precinct, but how close and fresh in memory are for us those sleepless nights full of worries and efforts to carry the war for the liberation of the Homeland through to the end, to rebuild the burned-out towns and villages, to reconstruct the economy which the enemies had ravaged. We lacked cadres and specialists, funds and means, but the all-round support of the people and the correct line of the Party gave us confidence and strength to overcome any difficulty, to carry out the program of the Government with success and within a short time and to turn the promises made into a reality, as has always happened in socialist Albania.

The people won, defended and have continuously perfected their state through struggle. Many an attempt has been made by the imperialist and revisionist foreign enemies to overthrow or degenerate our power, but their smiles and threats, the terrorist bands sent from abroad and the agents who had wormed their way into our ranks, all the enemies, have seen their efforts and aims defeated. Our state power is invincible, because the Party and the people watch it vigilantly and in steel unity. Under the solicitude and correct leadership of the Party it has been democratized in ceaseless struggle against any manifestation of bureaucracy, liberalism and concessions to class enemies.

With a strong state, with the Party in the forefront, always loyally implementing the teachings of Marxism-Leninism, our people have made the behest of the fallen a reality. With our victories in all fields of life, in the economy, education, culture, science, health services and defence, and above all, in the formation of the new man, we go proudly and with many gains to the 40th anniversary of the liberation of the Homeland which we will celebrate with magnificence next month. The achievements of 40-year old socialist Albania in the strengthening and revolutionization of the Party and the state are the powerful base and sure guarantee of new still greater successes in the complete construction of socialist society.

Long live our heroic people!

Long live the people's state power and our glorious Party which leads us from victory to victory!

Yours

ENVER HOXHA

AND HERE IS THE MESSAGE OF GREETINGS OF COMRADE ENVER HOXHA ADDRESSED TO THE FORMER DELEGATES TO THE 1st CONGRESS OF THE AWUA - Tirana, 3 November 1984:

Dear comrades, mothers and sisters, former delegates to the 1st Congress of the Antifascist Women's Union of Albania,

I congratulate you whole-heartedly on the occasion of the marked day of the celebration of the 40th anniversary of your 1st Congress!

You, the representatives of the women of the whole of Albania, who came from the flames of partisan battles, from the underground fight and from the free towns and villages, came together in the town of Berat 40 years ago in order to confirm once again with your own powerful voices your determination to loyally continue through to the end on the road illuminated by the Party and to proclaim the objectives of your revolutionary organization: the complete liberation and the construction of the Homeland ravaged by the fierce war against the foreign occupiers and local traitors.

At the call of the Party you, the fighters of the front line, the long-suffering but heroic Albanian mothers and women, rose against centuries-old oppression and fought side by side with your husbands, sons and brothers in the great National Liberation War. This legendary war, led by the Party, which overthrew the old world and brought freedom to the people, liberated the Albanian women too, made a reality of the behest of the daughters fallen at the alter of freedom, Zonja, Margarita, Bule and Persefoni, Shejnaze, Mine Peza and many other women and young girls, made a reality of the ideal of all our mothers and sisters who, in the midst of the savage terror and violence of the enemies, opened the doors of their houses and turned them into shelters for the freedom fighters, took up arms, filled the partisan ranks and threw themselves into the fight against the nazi-fascist occupiers and the traitors to the country.

The holding of the 1st Congress of the Anti-fascist Women's Union of Albania after the proclamation of the Provisional Democratic Government, which legitimized the equality of women with men in political and social life, had importance not only for the women but also for the whole people. This Congress was the first national assembly of the women in our thousand-years old history, in which your voice resounded with great strength.

After the work of the Congress, you comrade former delegates went off like sparks all over the Homeland in order to put into practice the decisions that were taken there, to throw the masses of women and girls into the war for the complete liberation and the reconstruction of the country and for the building of a new society. With the all-round support of the Party and the state you rose powerfully against the centuries-old darkness and illiteracy, overcame the stumbling-block and cleared all brambles, and marched ahead on the illuminated road which the Party showed, became fighters of the new life and drew the masses of women on to the front of production and socio-political activities. Your personality was raised in step with the gigantic strides of our socialist society which left the centuries behind, because you have the teachings of the Party in your minds and hearts, because the behest of the fallen has remained sacred to you.

Today, after 40 years of struggle and magnificent efforts for the construction of socialism the Party takes legitimate pride in the Albanian woman who militates, thinks and pours her sweat on all the fronts of work and production, in industry and agriculture, in science and culture, putting all her forces to the new and happy life which we have built with our own efforts. In the struggle for her further emancipation, the Albanian woman is affirming her personality more and more in every field and sector of the political and social activity of the country. With her work and capacity not only is she taking part in the construction of socialism and the defence of the Homeland, but she has also become a wonderful mother and educator of the coming generations with the teachings of the Party.

Dear comrades,

A few days separate us from the 40th anniversary of the Liberation of the Homeland, for which old and young have mobilized themselves to receive it with as many achievements as possible, therefore we must heighten the militant spirit at work for the attainment of the tasks set on all fronts of life.

On this joyful occasion I send you my warmest congratulations on your celebration!

Yours

ENVER HOXHA

Tirana, November 3, 1984

The inhabitants of the City of Berat received on 3 November 1984, with enthusiasm the former delegates to the First Congress of the AWUA that held its proceedings 40 years ago.

Together with the former delegates, present to attend the celebration of this anniversary were also the members of the political bureau and secretary of Central Committee of the party, Comrade Lenka Cuko, the alternate member of the Political Bureau of the CC of the party Comrade Foto Cami, the president of the General Council of the AWUA Lumturi Rexha, the Minister of Light and Food Industry Vito Kapo, the Minister of Education and Culture Tefta Cami, the Minister of Agriculture Themie Thomai, and others.

A grand popular rally was organised in the main square of the city.

Admidst the great joy of those present, Comrade Lenka Cuko read out the greeting of the beloved leader of the party and people Comrade Enver Hoxha addressed to the former delegates to the First Congress of the Anti-Fascist Women's Union of Albania, on occasion of its 40th anniversary.

The greeting of Comrade Enver Hoxha was listened to with great attention, it aroused deep emotions and was received with enthusiastic acclamations “party, Enver, we are always ready”, then in her speech Comrade Lenka Cuko brought the greetings of the Central Committee of the party.

Her speech was often punctuated by ardent applauses and acclamations for the glorious party of labour and the respected leader Comrade Enver Hoxha.



Enver Hoxha at the military parade and manifestation of the people of the Capital

November 29, 1984

**"LET US SAFEGUARD THE HOMELAND LIKE THE APPLE OF OUR EYE
AND CARRY THE VICTORIES FURTHER FORWARD." [Enver Hoxha]**

(This is what comrade Enver Hoxha taught to all of us - to both the Albanian people and the whole world proletariat and the peoples, for creating a global homeland of socialism.)

In his Greeting Message for the 40th Anniversary of the liberation of Albania, comrade Enver Hoxha said on November 29, 1984:

It is unparalleled in the world that a small country like Albania has fought that so much, which has beaten all the enemies and always held high its head, which seized power with its own weapons without someone's help. The fiercest enemies wanted to sweep it from the earth's surface and wipe it off the map, to divide it among his neighbors whose rulers were agents of the Great Powers. But in vain. Albania and the Albanians have fought and won. They were, are and will be immortal.

For 40 years, you, the brave Albania, hold high the banner of Marxism-Leninism honorably, like you held high the banner of freedom in the centuries, with the red flag of the double-headed eagle, to which you have added the five-pointed star, the star of freedom , the star of socialism and communism.

In the 40 years of socialism, you, my people, advancing with the Labour Party, have smashed down the new, powerful enemies. You have again unsheathed the sword that was now sharper, hardened in the fire of many battles , forged on the anvil of history. With this sword , my party, you have slain mercilessly on the imperialists and reactionaries, has slain the modern revisionists of all shades and struggled against those capped revisionists and their hegemonic purposes. They had to drop their Marxist- Leninist mask. You, my party, have done with these stances and with your high example your internationalist duty. And at the same time you have said to the others, that the struggle against the revisionist tendencies should not be set. There can be no agreement with them, no compromise with these renegades and traitors. The Word of our party , its clear thinking, its courage and its determination shone and became torches for the peoples and revolutionaries all over the world.

The Marxist-Leninist parties who hold steadfastly to the principles, can no enemy destroy. Marxism-Leninism, guiding the proletariat, the real communist parties and peoples, is invincible. The fight against Soviet revisionism and all the modern revisionism is one of your most brilliant heroic songs, my party. This heroic struggle means honor and pride for you, working class in Albania, for you, Albanian people, for you our socialist Albania! All States of the world, all nations, all political currents friends and enemies can not help but admit that you're completely free, independent and that you are like a granite rock.

Your correct manly, Marxist-Leninist, revolutionary attitudes gathered many friends, sympathizers from all countries around you. Though you're small, the world proletariat looked and looks with full of hope and trust in you because in your way and in your determination is a great idea, Marxism-Leninism, the fight for the revolution, the struggle for the overthrow of the reactionary forces. You said and say to the proletariat and to the peoples the truth, and the truth has extraordinary significance.

We say to you: Stand up as we stand up, fight as we fight like, and you will win , as we won and win. Our victory is for sure, we share our victory. Therefore, we have to close the ranks in the fire of battle against the enemies.

Fire on the revisionists , the betrayer of the working class and peoples ! Fire on the imperialist plans of the global big capital ! The only way to win freedom , independence and sovereignty of the homeland is the revolution. They spread the lie, one could allegedly gain power through reforms. These are just tales. The bourgeoisie and the capitalism can not therefore agree that the working class , the most advanced class in the world, is the future, and seize the power. Quite the contrary, they are the enemies of the people and the proletariat, and deal daily with poisoned sugar pieces and forge new chains of slavery.

The peoples and the proletariat can win step by step, and can take power into their hands , therefore, only by the struggle against the old system of capital. This path was the path of the Labour Party. The Albanian people was liberated, the socialist Albania was set up, and now it is on the way of progress.

The true Marxist-Leninists have always loved you, dear heroic Party ! And you have defended them to the end. So you'll always defend them in future. Your word was always frankly, if necessary, in moderation, if needed, you have raised your voice. Those who made mistakes, you tried to correct them patiently. You have given them friendly advice. At the same time you have listened carefully to them and learnt from them. Their correct actions you have supported, but if they were wrong, you have criticized them. This way you have always pursued. However, in case of "enough is enough", you were completely convinced that there was no other way except fight. You're not scared. You declared war to the enemies and have never set this fight. Our party has not stopped the class struggle both internally and in the international arena and it will not stop it for a single moment.

In the years and decades to come, the people and the party will, as always close their fist to do more for these beloved soil, this land of the eagle. We should beware everything we have achieved, and keep it like our eyeball. We leave to future generations an ever stronger, a constantly red Albania, red as the inextinguishable fire of the communist and partisan ideals, an Albania which lives in the centuries. I am convinced that the people and the party will keep our victorious banner always high, the honor, reputation and the name of socialist Albania will raise higher and higher in the world.

Long live the glorious Labour Party, founder, Inspiratorin and leader of our armed forces!

MESSAGE OF GREETINGS ON THE OCCASION OF THE 40th ANNIVERSARY OF THE LIBERATION OF ALBANIA - 29 November 1984

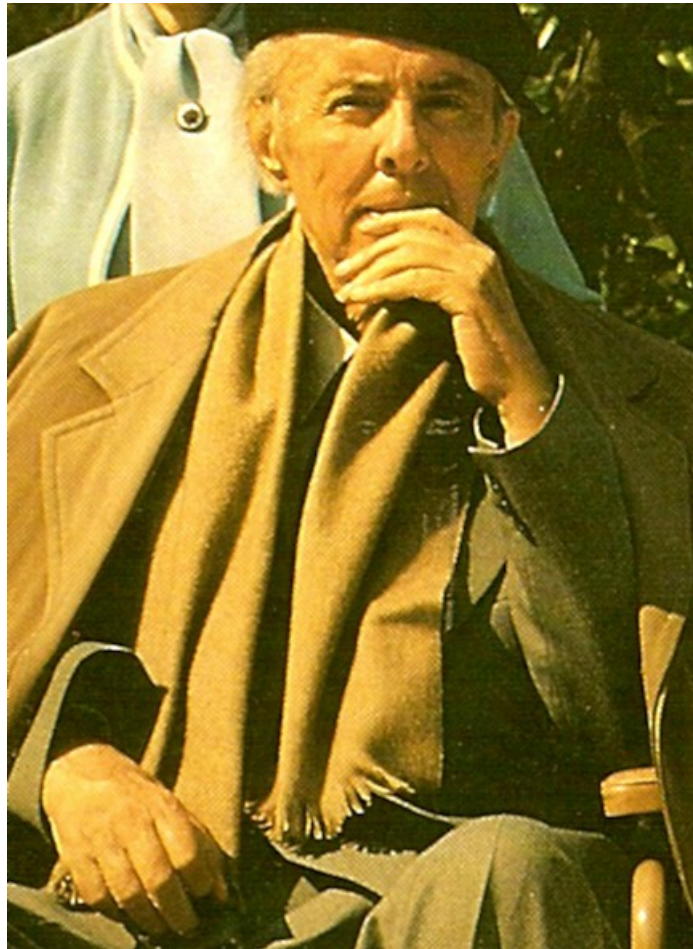
- 29 November 1984

This was the last message before comrade Enver Hoxha died.

Comrade Enver Hoxha participated at the celebrations. He was welcomed with ovations when he appeared on the tribune. Also delegations of the Marxist-Leninist parties and delegations of their mass organisations were present. There was also a military parade. On November 27, 1984 comrade Enver Hoxha took part at the celebrations in the Opera - and Ballet Theatre.

From 24 to 26 December 1984, the 6th Meeting of the 10th Legislative period of the People's Assembly took place, on which Comrade Enver Hoxha was present and welcomed with rapturous applause and thunderous cheers.

one of the very last photos



ENVER HOXHA

April 6, 1985



COMRADE ENVER HOXHA

the 5th Classic of Marxism-Leninism

died on April 11, 1985

- 2.15 h

In the end, here is published the message of the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania on occasion of the Death of Comrade Enver Hoxha

Deep pain for the party and all the people

- April 11, 1985

The morning of 15th of April 1985 found us again wrapped in sad silence, lined up in the interminable procession along the «Martyrs of the Nation» Boulevard, in order to pay the last homage to the outstanding leader of the Party and people, Comrade Enver Hoxha. Grief over the loss of their most beloved son has overwhelmed them.

To the tune of funeral music, the procession advances slowly along the «Martyrs of the Nation» Boulevard towards the «Skanderbeg» Square. The guard of honour is followed by a group of militarymen carrying red cushions with the high decorations of «People's Hero», «Hero of Socialist Labour» and many orders which Comrade Enver Hoxha was awarded by the People's Assembly. Innumerable wreaths of fresh flowers, wreaths coming from all over Albania, are carried by students of the «Enver Hoxha» University of Tirana. People lining either side of the boulevard weep over the loss of the legendary leader of the National Liberation War and the heroic leader of the construction of socialism.

When the procession comes abreast of the premises of the Central Committee of the Party, people hold their steps with a flutter in their hearts.

Everyone looks up painfully in the direction of the window of Comrade Enver Hoxha's bureau. It is open.

When he rose from his desk he stood at this window and was filled with joy to see people strolling calmly and happily in the boulevard. His glance, his thinking, embraced the 28 thousand square kilometres of our beloved soil. Throughout his life he fought, worked and thought of these people, devoted everything he did to them. The «Skanderbeg» Square is thronged as rarely before. The whole of the capital has come out in this square; representatives from all the districts of the country have come to this square, too. Four large-size portraits of Comrade Enver Hoxha and slogans reading «Glory to the brilliant and immortal work of Comrade Enver Hoxha!», «We must make Albania as Comrade Enver Hoxha wanted it to be», «Let us close our ranks ever more tightly around the Party and its Central Committee», «We must strengthen our steel unity», «Party, Enver — we are always ready!» etc., rise above the crowd.

Comrade Enver Hoxha comes to the Cemetery of the Martyrs of the Nation to remain there for ever as the Commander among partisans, as a hero among heroes. This is the final moment. The guard of honour presents arms.

The coffin with the body of Comrade Enver Hoxha is descended into the grave. Sobs and weeping grow louder.

Earth from the mother land which he loved so much, earth from his birthplace, from his Gjirokastra which he loved so much like the rest of Albania, from the courtyard of his dear home, is thrown into the grave...

Meanwhile, work is suspended in all the work and production centres of our socialist Homeland for five minutes. The whistles of factories, engines and ships give a painful shriek.

A twenty-one gun salute is fired in the capital and a five gun salute is fired in the cities of Gjirokastra, Vlora, Kruja, Korça, Peshkopia, Shkodra, Kukës, Berat, Durrës, and Elbasan.

Red marble slabs are put over the grave. Marble slabs carrying the golden letters: «ENVER HOXHA 1908-1985».

The National Hymn is executed.

Fists are raised.

Wreaths are laid at the grave of Comrade Enver Hoxha.

After this ceremony, the guard of honour parades to the tune of a military march.

Thousands and thousands of people from all over the country, veterans of the war and work, workers and cooperativists, intellectuals, militarymen, young men and women, members of «Pioneers of Enver» Organization, go up to the Cemetery of the Martyrs of the Nation. With deep grief and weeping, they honour and respect the memory of the brilliant and immortal work of Comrade Enver Hoxha. They lay bouquets of flowers at the grave of the dear leader of the Party and people. In the book close by the grave they express in writing their heartfelt sorrow over the loss of the beloved leader, their boundless love and gratitude for the Party, and take the solemn pledge that, with the teachings of the Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha in their hearts and minds, they will march always forward on the road of the revolution and the building of socialism
(excerpts from "Albania today" - No 2 / 1985)



mourning march in the streets of Tirana

April 1985



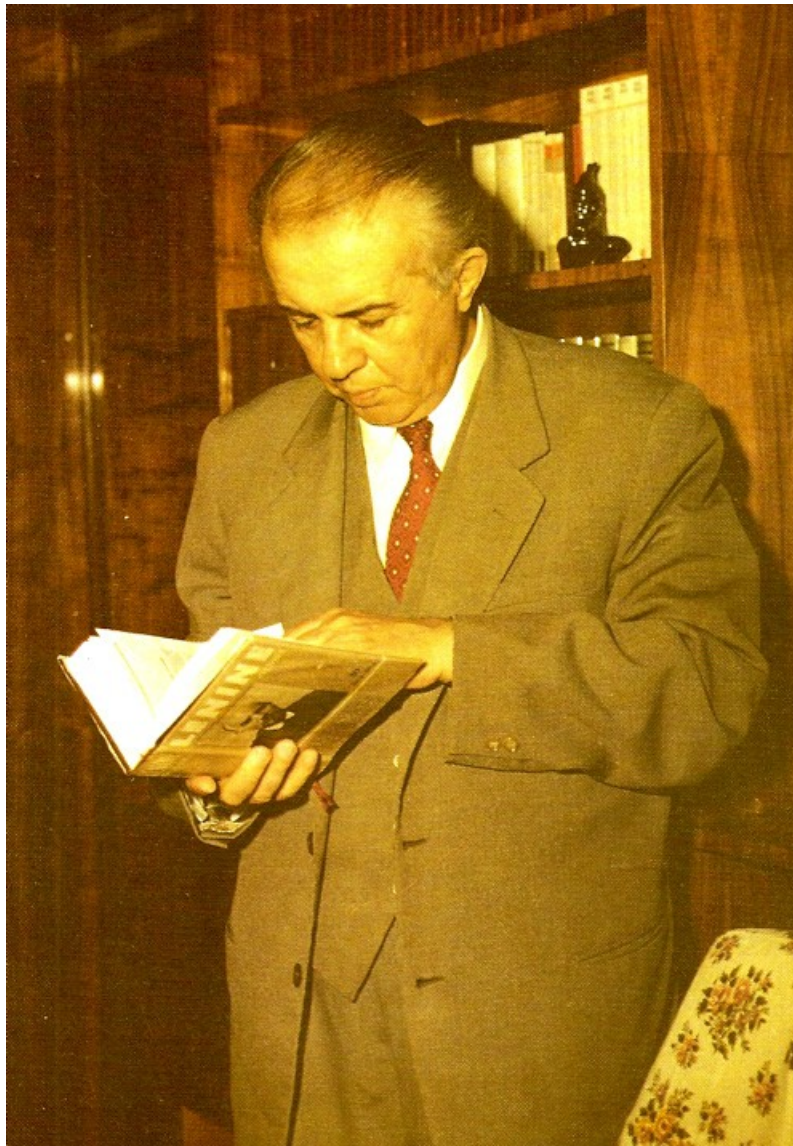
Always beside Enver. April 1986







Long live the 5 Classics of Marxism-Leninism



PART 2

ON THE FOUNDATIONS AND CONCERNING QUESTIONS OF HOXHAISM

How the Hoxhaism originated ...

In essence, the creation of Hoxhaism is not different from the creation of Marxism, Leninism and Stalinism.

Marxism grew out of criticism of the pre- Marxist socialist views, from the demarcation of all ideas and theories of the petty bourgeoisie and the emerging middle class on socialism, which were accompanied by the newly-born capitalist society. With Marxism, for the first time, an independent ideology of the working class was created . Marxism was the first scientific foundation of communism, created and spread all over the world, by Karl Marx and Frederick Engels.

Leninism grew out of the struggle for the defense of Marxism against such petty-bourgeois and bourgeois notions and theories that had been disguised in a "Marxist" cloak. This was needed to camouflage the bourgeois revision of Marxism. The intention of this bourgeois ideology is to deceive the uprising proletariat and to lead the proletariat away from the socialist revolution which inevitably bursts out - caused by the contradictions of world imperialism. With the development of capitalism to world imperialism, Marxism developed further to Leninism in the struggle against reformism and revisionism. Leninism is the actual theory and tactics of the proletarian revolution in general. Leninism is the theory and tactics of the dictatorship of the proletariat, in particular.

Stalinism evolved from the struggle in defense of Marxism-Leninism, in the period when socialism in one country prevailed over capitalism, and when the victory of the first socialist state began to expand around the world. Stalinism was the ideological weapon of the socialist working class against such notions and theories by which capitalism should be restored, by which the advance of world socialism should be stopped, and by which the Soviet Union of Lenin and Stalin should be destroyed. Stalinism developed further in the struggle for the socialist transformation of the Soviet Union into a communist country. Stalinism was the ideological basis of the socialist world camp, the stepping stone of the triumphal procession of world communism.

With the struggle against the social-chauvinist Yugoslav (first revisionism in power), Stalinism became the basis of the development of Hoxhaism. Beginning with the struggle against Yugoslav revisionism, Hoxhaism developed as the world-proletarian, ideological weapon for the fight against the global spreading of modern revisionism at power. Thus, Hoxhaism arose when modern revisionism was already in power for the purpose to liquidate the new Marxist-Leninist world movement and to destroy the last socialist country - Albania. Hoxhaism developed as a self-contained theory and tactics for the defense of the dictatorship of the proletariat in the anti -revisionist and anti-socialimperialist struggle of the world proletariat, for breaking through the encirclement of the capitalist- revisionist world. Hoxhaism is the scientific expression of the highest stage of social development of the ruling proletariat in the period of the capitalist-revisionist encirclement.

The anti-revisionist, international character of Hoxhaism appeared precisely with the speech of Comrade Enver Hoxha on 16 November 1960, at the Moscow Conference of 81 Communist and Workers' Parties. This was not only a demonstration against anti-Stalinism. For the first time, Enver Hoxha represented the revolutionary interests of the entire world proletariat and of all the peoples in their liberation struggle against imperialism and revisionism, for freedom, independence and socialism. Hoxhaism emerged from the struggle for communism and the socialist world revolution against the bourgeois- revisionist counter-revolution, which served to the restoration of the sole reign of world capitalism.

What are the foundations of Hoxhaism ?

There is much talk of Hoxhaism, but what is now actually Hoxhaism what are the basics and characteristic features of Hoxhaism?

We Stalinist-Hoxhaists have already worked out the foundations of [Stalinism](#) (English version available). Since some years we have announced our work on the foundations of Hoxhaism, and finally we can present a first result on the 105th birthday of comrade Enver Hoxha which we do not claim to be perfect. We see this as a modest first step.

Nobody can be contented with the simple statement that the Hoxhaism constitutes a development of Marxism-Leninism-Stalinism. We also have to prove and justify this scientifically. One must not only prove that the path of Enver Hoxha was the successful continuation of the Stalinist path, but must also show what Hoxhaism really is in itself - namely the independent, most developed teachings of Marxism-Leninism. We have to answer the question why and how Hoxhaism distinguishes from the teachings of Marxism-Leninism-Stalinism. We can not only state that Hoxhaism emerged from Stalinism, that Stalinism emerged from Leninism and that Leninism emerged from Marxism. This is correct but not enough descriptive. Just as the world proletariat changes, grows, gaining strength and continues to evolve, so does the proletarian ideology - developing always further - beginning with Marxism and ending with Hoxhaism.

The question of Hoxhaism is indeed a question of ideological proletarian class-struggle on the highest level, because the unequivocal and clear cut answer of this question decides unalterably on the victory and defeat of the world revolution, on the future of communism and its world movement. If we draw nearer to the answer of this question , we can state the following 4 principles:

Hoxhaism cannot be considered as separated from Marxism-Leninism-Stalinism. The ideology of the world proletariat consists of Marxism-Leninism-Stalinism-Hoxhaism. They form indivisible parts and cannot be separated or even played off against each other. They are formed as a common, monolithic whole, existing of one cast.

It is impossible to defend Hoxhaism if we would acknowledge Enver Hoxha only as disciple of Stalin, if we restrict our view on Hoxhaism as the sole application of Stalinism on the special conditions of the country of Albania. We do not deny that Enver Hoxha was really the best disciple of Stalin. He was it without doubt. However, Enver Hoxha for himself, is finally the 5th Classic of Marxism-Leninism and therefore "a little bit more" than just disciple of the 4th Classic of Marxism-Leninism! Enver Hoxha developed completely his own self-contained lessons of Marxism-Leninism-Stalinism – namely Hoxhaism. That's the crucial point. Truly Marxists-Leninists will never deny the independent and closed Marxist-Leninist teachings of Enver Hoxha. Therefore, we do not fight only on the basis of the teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin, and Stalin but moreover on the base of the teachings of all the 5 Classics of Marxism-Leninism.

There are different revisionist camps struggling against the 5 Classics of Marxism-Leninism in different ways. The first camp only accepts Marxism. The second camp accepts only Marxism-Leninism. The third camp accepts only Marxism-Leninism-Stalinism. This camp tries openly or hiddenly to drive a wedge between the four Classics and the 5th Classic of Marxism-Leninism(we call them polemically the "*4 and a half heads*" because they do not fully accept comrade Enver Hoxha as the 5th Classic of Marxism-Leninism). Stalinism-Hoxhaism is the further development of Marxism-Leninism. Any purported hidden or open "defense" of Marxism-Leninism AGAINST Stalinism-Hoxhaism means nothing but defense of revisionism. Those who attach little value to a single Classic of Marxism-Leninism, attach consequently also little value to all the other Classics of Marxism-Leninism.

Other revisionist camps added anti-Marxist ideologies such as Maoism which tries to assimilate Hoxhaism. The most dangerous revisionist camp is the neo-revisionist camp which acclaim the 5th Classic of Marxism-Leninism in words but follow the path of the revisionists in deeds. For example the Maoists with Maoism. The appreciation of Enver Hoxha as the 5th Classic of Marxism-Leninism was an unavoidable demarcation-line drawn by the Comintern (SH) - in the year of 2000 - against all branches of revisionism.

If Enver Hoxha would not bravely step forward to further develop Marxism-Leninism-Stalinism then there would be no 40 years of successful construction of socialism in Albania, and there would be no Communist World Movement any more. Only by his principled struggle against the Yugoslav revisionists, the Soviet revisionists, the Euro"communists" and the Chinese revisionists Marxism-Leninism was successfully defended and further developed.

If we explain the foundations of Hoxhaism this must not be equated with explaining the whole ideology of Enver Hoxha. The ideology of Enver Hoxha and the foundations of Hoxhaism are not one and the same. Enver Hoxha's ideology is of course based on Marxism-Leninism-Stalinism. But by no means it follows that the explanation of Hoxhaism must be started with the explanation of the foundations of Marxism-Leninism-Stalinism. We concentrate on the new and special features of the ideological work of Enver Hoxha. He has enriched the general treasury of Marxism-Leninism-Stalinism. Only in this limited sense the Comintern (SH) publishes here the foundations of Hoxhaism.

How do we work out the foundations of Hoxhaism?

Always by unmasking and in demarcation of opportunists who defend the Hoxhaism in words, however betray Hoxhaism in deeds.

In the light of our anti-revisionist struggle we learnt to understand that it is not sufficient to rest on the demarcation-line of Stalin - as it was necessary in times of Enver Hoxha. Today we learnt that it is urgently necessary to raise up the level of demarcation, and to raise it up to the level of the lessons of Enver Hoxha as the 5th Classic of Marxism-Leninism.

The defense of Hoxhaism means active struggle against revisionism and neo-revisionism, which acknowledges the Hoxhaism in words, but in deeds trying to adapt Hoxhaism to revisionism.

The old modern revisionists in times of Khrushchev are defeated - but the neo-revisionists are still active ! It follows that we have to struggle in first line against neo-revisionism.

What is Hoxhaism ?

Hoxhaism is the theory and tactics of the anti-capitalist, anti-revisionist, anti-imperialist and anti-social-imperialist struggle in the period of capitalism and revisionism in power (in general), and (in particular) the theory and tactics of the dictatorship of the proletariat and that of the Marxist-Leninist world movement under the conditions of capitalist-revisionist encirclement in the last period of world imperialism.

Hoxhaism is the doctrine of the anti-fascist struggle for liberation and the people's revolution against fascism, its transition to the socialist revolution, the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the building of socialism in a feudal and mainly underdeveloped agricultural country.

The teachings of Enver Hoxha are the teachings for the victorious construction of socialism in the period of the restoration of capitalism, are the teachings of full developed socialism by relying on one's own forces and successful struggle of breaking through the capitalist-revisionist encirclement, in particular by means of the Marxist-Leninist World Movement and the anti-imperialist forces of the peoples.

Hoxhaism has proven that not only the weakest imperialist power can successfully be broken away from the world imperialist chain (as the Leninist theory has proven) but even a country in which capitalism was still not developed, thus the transition to socialism without the intermediate stage of capitalism.

Hoxhaism has proven historically that the proletarian dictatorship of even a small country like Albania can become the world centre of communism, the lever and basis of the socialist world revolution.

Hoxhaism is the ideological weapon for holding high the banner of Marxism-Leninism and for its defense of over 40 years against the whole capitalist-revisionist world.

Hoxhaism is immanent part of the world-proletarian ideology of the 5th Classics of Marxism-Leninism - is the teachings of comrade Enver Hoxha, the leader of the world proletariat and the Marxist-Leninist world movement after the death of Stalin.

Hoxhaism is highest expression of the communist ideology of the world proletariat.

Hoxhaism is an internationalist guideline of the organized revolutionary world proletariat in general, and especially the doctrine of the autonomy of the Marxist-Leninist world movement and its independent proletarian class organizations.

Hoxhaism is the guiding ideology for the world-revolutionary destruction of the whole capitalist-revisionist world and all its counter-revolutionary organizations.

All these are doubtedly correct significant features of Hoxhaism. However, even in their sum they cannot give the complete and precise answer to the question what Hoxhaism really is. All these significant attributes are not adequate to express Hoxhaism as the highest stage of development of Marxism-Leninism. So what is the quintessence of Hoxhaism ?

Hoxhaism - correctly implemented - is highest expression of the universality of the world proletarian ideology as a guideline for the direct and prompt creation of a socialist world, because Hoxhaism has already proven the successful prospering of socialism during over 40 years - even under the worst and most difficult conditions of capitalist-revisionist encirclement against one of the smallest and most underdeveloped countries of the world.

What is Hoxhaism on a world scale ?

If socialism proved to be constructible in every country of the world - independently of its stage of development and its particular conditions - then Hoxhaism means nothing other then the possibility of socialism on a world scale - no matter how difficult and complicated the global circumstances would be - provided that the construction of world socialism is correctly implemented by the teachings of the 5 Classics of Marxism-Leninism.

Stalinism, for its part, is proof for the creation of the socialist world camp, thus the intermediate stage from socialism in "one" country towards world socialism.

Stalinism is also the ideology of the construction of communism in "one" country".

If the Soviet Union began to construct communism in "one" country then it is without doubt possible to create communism on a world scale.

Stalinism is the theory and tactics of the dictatorship of the proletariat in the period of its encirclement through the capitalist world.

Hoxhaism is the theory and tactics of the dictatorship of the proletariat in the period of its encirclement through the capitalist-revisionist world.

Stalinism-Hoxhaism is the theory and tactics of the dictatorship of the world proletariat in the period of the abolition of the inevitability of the encirclement through the capitalist-revisionist world.

Stalinism-Hoxhaism is not a dream of the rebirth of socialism, but an unfailing scientific instruction for the topical, practical solution of the construction of world socialism and its transition to world communism.

Stalinism – Hoxhaism is the theory and tactics of the world proletarian revolution, *in general* , and the theory and tactics of the dictatorship of the world proletariat, *in particular*.

Enver Hoxha:

Even a small country, with a small, pure and honourable people, but firmly united, arms in hand, and guided by great revolutionary ideas, could preserve its great, centuries-old traditions, could fight and win freedom, independence and sovereignty, could carry out the revolution and establish the People's State Power. This was the triumph of the freedom-loving ideals of our forbears combined with the great ideas of Marxism-Leninism. The revolution in Albania triumphed because it was the Communist Party of Albania which placed itself at the head of the masses of the people and brought about their powerful unity.

External enemies and internal enemies, open enemies and disguised enemies, were to emerge continually to hinder our course. The Party knew how to uncover them one after the other, to expose their plots against socialism and the freedom of the Homeland, and render them powerless, because it was a party of the working class, a party which loyally followed Marxism-Leninism, a party which relied on the broad masses of the people.

Albania is small, its people is small in numbers, too, but their example is great, because they defend a great cause. Someone abroad raises the question: Where do the Albanian people find this great spiritual, economic, cultural and military strength now to withstand the furious onslaught of capitalism and modern revisionism, American imperialism, Soviet and Chinese social-imperialism, and so on, the hatred of fascist dictatorships and foreign reaction, who are trying to damage and destroy them? They have found this strength not in the support of some great power, but in themselves, in their manly, patriotic feelings, in the Marxist-Leninist ideology, in the correct line of the Party, in their steel unity with the Party, and in the support of the genuine communists and the proletariat and peoples of the world. It is precisely these factors which make Albania fearless of anyone.

We are proletarian internationalists, and as such, we defend comrade Enver Hoxha not only as the beloved leader of the Albanian Socialist country and best friend of the small and underdeveloped countries in the world, but moreover as one of the greatest communist leaders of the world proletariat - thus in the same rank as Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin. As can be proved in the message of the CC of the PLA on occasion of the Death of comrade Enver Hoxha (April 11, 1985), the main crime of the Albanian revisionists was and still is the inadmissible reduction of comrade Enver Hoxha and his titanic work as a national phenomena - thus something which is only valid within the national borders of Albania - valid only for a period of the past and even independent of the communist world movement. This crime was combated by the decision of the Comintern (SH) that comrade Enver Hoxha is the legitimated 5th Classic of Marxism-Leninism, and that Hoxhaism is the further advancement of Marxism-Leninism-Stalinism on the 31st of December 2000.

see:

"Enver Hoxha - the 5th Classic of Marxism-Leninism...and the foundation of the Comintern (SH)"

Wherein consists historically the internationalist nature of Hoxhaism ?

The Hoxhaism was the only correct Marxist-Leninist weapon against this new imperialist/social-imperialist challenge, namely:

- to defend and strengthen the socialist world in the struggle against modern revisionism;**
- to fight against the restoration of capitalism under the terms of the rule of the capitalist-revisionist world;**
- to defend the Stalinist world camp not only against U.S. imperialism but also against the riving and liquidationist policy of the Soviet social-imperialism;**
- to struggle against different camps of modern revisionism;**

Hoxhaism is the further developed ideology of the struggle of the socialist world against the newly formed capitalist-revisionist world.

Hoxhaism is the world-wide class-struggle with the socialist Albania and the new Marxist-Leninist world forces at the head, who committed themselves to the goal of world socialist revolution, in the spirit of the Communist International of Lenin and Stalin.

Hoxhaism is the courageous breaking through the domination of modern revisionism within the communist world movement as a condition for successfully break through the world-imperialist chain.

The crucial key to the continuation of the path of the October Revolution was Enver Hoxha's historic speech at the Moscow Conference (1960). That was the birth of the new Marxist-Leninist world movement. Thus the break through of the revisionist chain began. The creator of this new anti-revisionist world chain was Enver Hoxha and the socialist Albania became its international center, its main chain-link.

Hoxhaism is definitely the highest stage of the further development of Marxism-Leninism-Stalinism.

Hoxhaism emerged from Stalinism in power.

Hoxhaism originated in the transitional period of socialism "in a" land to the second period of socialism on a world scale.

Hoxhaism is the continuation and development of Stalinism in the conditions of capitalist-revisionist encirclement.

Hoxhaism is the continuation and development of the doctrine of Bolshevism outside his native country, where the Bolshevism triumphed over Mensheviks.

Marxism-Leninism-Stalinism-Hoxhaism is the ideological basis of today's Stalinist-Hoxhaist world movement carried by the Comintern (SH) in general and its Sections in particular.

Today's Marxism-Leninism is the doctrine of the world proletariat in the era of globalization.

**The anti-communist defamation of comrade Enver Hoxha
and "De-Hoxhaization"**

The anti-communist defamation and condemnation of the person of comrade Enver Hoxha are aimed against the most advanced ideology of communism, against Hoxhaism. Anti-Hoxhaism is not only aimed against the struggle for the restoration of socialism in Albania and the Soviet Union, but in first line against its danger of the globalization of the restoration of socialism - thus against the socialist world revolution, against world socialism and world communism, and last not least against the restoration of the Marxist-Leninist world movement of comrade Enver Hoxha which we call the Stalinist-Hoxhaist world movement. The Stalinist-Hoxhaist world movement of the Comintern (SH) defends Hoxhaism with the same determination as the Marxist-Leninist world movement of comrade Enver Hoxha has once defended Stalinism.

The open anti-communist defamation of the person of comrade Enver Hoxha is part of the strategy and tactic of "De-Hoxha-ization". History shows, however, that Hoxhaism cannot be "de-hoxhaized" as little as Stalinism cannot be "destalinized". The alleged *"critique of the cult of personality"* in collaboration of imperialists and revisionists and the alleged *"overcoming of its consequences"* was the common imperialist and revisionist interests to forestall the restoration of socialism, the reconquest of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the rebirth of Hoxhaism. *"Cult of personality"* and *"de-Hoxhaization"* - deification and demonization of comrade Enver Hoxha - these are two sides of a coin. The end justifies the means. "De-Hoxhaization" means nothing but removal of Hoxhaism under the cloak of so called "Cult of personality". Creating the Stalinist-Hoxhaist world movement for the defense of comrade Enver Hoxha and the global rebirth of Hoxhaism - this is primarily the historical merit of the Comintern (SH). Comrade Enver Hoxha and Hoxhaism belongs not only to Albania but to the whole world. As a person and as a leader of the PLA, comrade Enver Hoxha was simultaneously the greatest leader of the communist world movement after the death of comrade Stalin. We all must defend the great immortal work of Enver Hoxha. Those who do not do, are opportunists and cowards.

Not everyone, who defends Enver Hoxha against the so-called "cult of personality" is a Stalinist-Hoxhaist. You can lead the fight against the so-called "cult of personality" only on the basis of the teachings of the 5 Classics of Marxism-Leninism, otherwise you slide into the morass of opportunism.

We Stalinist-Hoxhaists have never measured the seriousness of our loyalty service to our 5 Classics of Marxism-Leninism with mere words, but always in the fire of class struggle against the world bourgeoisie.

The neo-revisionist betrayal at comrade Enver Hoxha and Hoxhaism

The neo-revisionist Clique of Ramiz Alia from inside Albania and the neo-revisionist traitors of the Hoxhaist World Movement outside Albania, they both paved the way for the open anti-communist defamation of comrade Enver Hoxha.

Why did the work of Enver Hoxha fail ? Because of the betrayal at Enver Hoxha!

How do we continue and complete the work of Enver Hoxha? Only through our merciless fight against the traitors!

We Communists will always be victims of deception and self-deception, as long as we do not learn to discover and unmask the "Hoxhaist" phraseology of the exploiting and oppressing classes !

They of all people betray Comrade Enver Hoxha in this sharp class-struggle for national liberation which is combined with the struggle for the restoration of socialism.

They followed the traitor Ramiz Alia, this henchman of the world imperialists.

They tell a pack of lies about the alleged “errors of Enver Hoxha” in the same manner which the modern revisionists have done about the alleged “errors of Stalin”.

They characterize Comrade Enver Hoxha allegedly as a “less whole Marxist”.

They try to debase the outstanding international meaning of Comrade Enver Hoxha by poor regional meaning.

They allegedly “respect” comrade Enver Hoxha in words, however betray him in deeds.

They are adversaries of the internationalist struggle for the restoration of socialism.

There were two stages of De-Hoxhaization:

The first was initiated by Ramiz Alia by hiddenly betraying Hoxhaism (softening the principles of Hoxhaism = "thaw-period"; Albanians decoupling from the Marxist-Leninist World Movement etc.).

In the second stage, Hoxhaism was openly combated as a hostile communist ideology. Both stages formed a dialectical unit as can be compared with the process of the de-stalinization.

The bourgeoisie struggles openly against Stalinism-Hoxhaism by falsifying the neo-revisionist position of being allegedly "Stalinist-Hoxhaist" while they try to isolate us Stalinist-Hoxhaists as outsiders, as "left-extremist", as "Sectarians", as "Dogmatists" etc. Officially, the bourgeoisie propagates the ideology of the neo-revisionists as alleged "Stalinism-Hoxhaism". So all the crimes of the neo-revisionists are added to the crimes of all the former revisionists, and the bourgeoisie points a finger at Stalinism-Hoxhaism, warning the proletariat and the masses not to follow the "criminal" ideology of Stalinism-Hoxhaism. This was always the tactics of the bourgeoisie to prevent the working people from communist ideology.

This way the whole Anti-Stalinism-Hoxhaism is based on the interplay of the ideology of the neo-revisionists and its equation with "Stalinism-Hoxhaism". To defend Stalinism-Hoxhaism, we must therefore wage a two-front-struggle against the open anti-Stalinist-Hoxhaist enemies and their cooperation with the neo-revisionist enemies. We have to explain to the proletariat that somebody who calls himself a "Hoxhaist" is not to be equated with true Hoxhaists in accordance of words and deed. This concerns also to the ideology of Hoxhaism. Hoxhaism is irreconcilable with any form of revisionist ideology, even if it calls itself "Hoxhaism".

The dialectics of history is such that the theoretical victory of Stalinism-Hoxhaism will increasingly force our opponents to disguise themselves as 'Stalinist - Hoxhaists' !

This two-front-struggle was reason enough to elevate comrade Enver Hoxha to the Fifth Classic of Marxism-Leninism. This world historical step was the most decisive step for the foundation of the Comintern (SH). And this decision of the Comintern (SH) was not only important for the further development of the Marxist-Leninist World Movement but also necessary for the support of the Albanian struggle of the defence and restoration of socialism, for the revolutionary movement in Albania and the Kosova in particular, and for that of the whole Balkan in general – as one of the leading centres of the whole world-revolutionary movement. In this moment it was the duty of the true Marxist-Leninists all over the world to set a gesture of proletarian internationalism: “Socialist Albania – lest we forget ! You are immortal ! We don' t give up the fight for your rebirth ! We do not capitulate as the Neo-Revisionists have done so shamefully ! We are the invincible and true banner bearers of Comrade Enver Hoxha ! The victory is ours!”

The destruction of the socialist world was the goal of the revisionists. They divisively intervene in the class battles of the world to seize its leadership in order to maneuver the revolution into harmless waters and to deprive it of its leading center. The general line of the revisionists was to isolate the single socialist country, to destroy it as the base and lever of the world revolution both from inside and outside. The general-line of the revisionists is to degenerate both the communist world centre and the outposts of communism at the periphery, on both the national and global scale.

Except in the Soviet Union and Albania, there was the merger of the Communist party with the Social Democratic Party. With this counter-revolutionary "united front tactics", the modern revisionists prevented the working class from seizing power and from establishing the dictatorship of the proletariat. The neo-revisionists in Albania, vice versa, created the social-democratic party afterwards, thus to destroy the dictatorship of the proletariat and to pave the way towards restoration of capitalism. History proved and Stalinism-Hoxhaism teaches that the ideology of social-democraticism is not only a weapon of the bourgeoisie to hinder the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat, but also a weapon to destroy the dictatorship of the proletariat and pave the way towards the restoration of capitalism.

Only in Albania, the victory in the anti-fascist war of liberation turned into a victory of the dictatorship of the proletariat by the people's revolution and its transition to the socialist revolution for the construction of socialism in Albania. But after the death of Enver Hoxha, the the struggle for the revolutionary overthrow of the social-fascist dictatorship of the new bourgeoisie under the leadership of Ramiz Ali clique did unfortunately not lead to the desired result of the restoration of the dictatorship of the proletariat in Albania. The struggle for this revolutionary aim will go on, and is supported by the Comintern (SH). The Albanian proletariat was defeated because the PLA of Comrade Enver Hoxha had been smashed by the social-fascist counterrevolution. The revisionists in power hiding behind the name of Enver Hoxha with the intention to overthrow the dictatorship of the proletariat from behind and to build up social fascism for the restoration of capitalism. The fragmented communist movement in Albania is still undermined by the remainders of social-fascist elements. Therefore it is the task of the Albanian Hoxhaists to free themselves from neo-revisionism and centrism. The task of the Albanian communists of today is the creation of their Albanian Section of the Comintern (SH), which stands on the solid ground of Stalinism-Hoxhaism.

The revisionists in Albania were hidden behind the anti-revisionist ideology of Hoxhaism.

Hoxhaism in words and revisionism in deeds – this was the neo-revisionist tactic of the Albanian revisionists to fulfill their tasks in the service of world imperialism - namely the bourgeois revision of Hoxhaism. And the traitors within the Marxist-Leninist World Movement of comrade Enver Hoxha fulfilled this task by means of the same neo-revisionist tactics outside of Albania.

Revisionism arose when Marxism had already triumphed over the open enemies. Neo-revisionism arose when Marxism-Leninism triumphed over modern revisionism.

Today's revisionism can only survive by shedding its skin - thus when it no longer hides behind the 4 Classics, as previously, but behind the mask of the 5 Classics of Marxism-Leninism !

The agencies of the bourgeoisie prefer precisely the mask which is most difficult to be unmasked.

Disguised "Hoxhaism" is the main danger within the current communist world movement, and its demasking is the priority assignment.

.The dialectic of the history of the world communist movement indicates that the theoretical victory of Stalinism-Hoxhaism will force the neo-revisionists, to penetrate into the Stalinist-Hoxhaist world movement - namely for the purpose of its liquidation.

**Is the modern revisionism still the main danger in the Communist Movement ?
We say: not any more.**

In the course of our struggle against modern revisionism, in the course of the decaying revisionist countries, the danger of the neo-revisionism has emerged. Who caused the collapse of the Marxist-Leninist world movement ? The modern revisionists or the neo-revisionists ? The neo- revisionists ! (albeit more or less support by some "leftist" elements of the remainders of the modern revisionists). And today, mainly the neo-revisionists struggle against Stalinism-Hoxhaism within the Communist World Movement. All this is reason enough to modify the previous definition when modern revisionism was the main danger. The general-line of the Comintern (SH) defines neo-revisionism as the main danger in the international communist movement of today.

Undoubtedly, the modern evisionists could have been defeated if the world proletariat would have been guided by the teachings of the 5 Classics of Marxism-Leninism. The socialist Albania is a brilliant proof for the power of Hoxhaism over modern revisionism. The history of Albania shows: revisionism gains upper hand if Hoxhaism is betrayed. The lessons are clear: There is no dictatorship of the proletariat which the bourgeoisie leaves untouched. There is neither a peaceful way towards nor during socialism. The class struggle against the bourgeoisie is a struggle of life and death within the whole era between capitalism and communism. The proletariat must not give an opportunity for the regeneration of the bourgeoisie, neither after the destruction of fascism, nor after the defeat of socialism, nor ever.

Today, the liberation of the world proletariat is impossible without complete destruction of neo-revisionist influences. The neo-revisionism is the pacemaker of bourgeois influence in today's world-revolutionary movement.

In other words, the alleged "anti-revisionism" of the neo-revisionists is the newest ideological weapon of the world bourgeoisie for the purpose, to thwart, to weaken and to liquidate our struggle for the abolition of the inevitability of revisionism. This is the major current lesson which we must learn from the neo-revisionist struggle against Hoxhaism.

The strategy and tactics of neo-revisionists, today, aims at not only to prevent the rebirth of socialism in "one" country, but primarily at the prevention of the birth of world socialism. To achieve this goal, the neo-revisionists have made it their mission to deceive the revolutionary forces by means of the phraseology of alleged "anti-revisionist" and "revolutionary" positions: "world socialism in words - revisionist protection of world capitalism in deeds".

Modern revisionism is: Anti-Stalinism under disguise of "Marxism-Leninism".

Neo-Revisionism is: Anti-Stalinism under disguise of "Stalinism" and Anti-Hoxhaism under disguise of "Hoxhaism".

Revisionism is the adaption of the bourgeois ideology to the Marxist ideology.

Modern revisionism is the adaption of the bourgeois ideology to the Marxist-Leninist ideology.

Neo-Revisionism is the adaption of the bourgeois ideology to Stalinism-Hoxhaism.

There is, therefore, no further development of Stalinism-Hoxhaism without sharpest demarcation from neo-revisionism.

The neo-revisionists are forced to misuse Stalinism - Hoxhaism as a cloak for saving the ideology of modern revisionism. Thus, the aim of the neo-revisionists is to step further from the former revisionist stage of adaption of Marxism-Leninism towards the next revisionist stage of adaption to the bourgeois ideology – namely the adaption of Stalinism-Hoxhaism to the neo-revisionist ideology of the bourgeoisie.

The molting of revisionism is precisely its survival concept. In particular, the molting of revisionism is always needed for its further adaption to the advanced development of Hoxhaism. Without advancement of Hoxhaism the communist movement cannot further develop. And without revisionist advancement of adaption to further developed Stalinism-Hoxhaism, the bourgeoisie is unable to defeat the communist movement for the purpose of maintaining her capitalist rule.

The party of the Bolsheviks fought under the leadership of Lenin and Stalin throughout their history tirelessly against social democracy, as Enver Hoxha and the Party of Labour tirelessly fought against modern revisionism throughout its history. This is exactly the same historical battle field, on which Marx and Engels began their struggle against anarchism within the First International and on which the Comintern (SH) finally struggles against today's neo-revisionism.

As the dictatorship of the proletariat in Albania triumphed over revisionism, the modern revisionists were forced to leave their treacherous "Marxist-Leninist" position, modern revisionism took over increasingly the former position of social democracy, which in its turn represents the open reactionary imperialist point of view. This, in turn, facilitated immensely the rejection of modern revisionism on the part of the revolutionary proletariat.

Today, the neo-revisionists fill in the blank, which the modern revisionists had left behind.

Today, nobody can call oneself a "supporter" of Stalin and Enver Hoxha, if following the neo-revisionists simultaneously. Without a quite clearly delineation from neo-revisionism one can not protect and defend Stalinism-Hoxhaism.

After having prepared and paved the way for capitalism, the Albanian revisionism was forced to molt itself again, namely for the purpose to get control over the growing danger of the restoration of socialism. Once capitalism is seriously threatened in Albania, the revisionists must prepare their coming into power to prevent the socialist revolution and the restoration of socialism. To achieve this goal, the Albanian bourgeoisie needs to create her agencies within the growing Albanian communist movement. These bourgeois agencies resort to centrism and reconciliation between Marxism-Leninism and revisionism - under the guise of alleged "united defense" of Enver Hoxha. But the Albanian communists can not defend comrade Enver Hoxha "together with" the revisionists, but only in the principled struggle against the revisionist traitors !

Only the path of comrade Enver Hoxha leads to world communism. The denial of the 5th Classic of Marxism-Leninism leads back to world capitalism.

Comrade Enver Hoxha defeated modern revisionism in all countries wherever the revisionists have shown up and the Comintern (SH) soldiers on Comrade Enver Hoxha' s anti-revisionist way.

Hoxhaism and the struggle against modern revisionism

Enver Hoxha:

“That phenomenon of the time of Lenin, when the break - away from the Second International was followed by the creation of new Marxist-Leninist parties, is taking place today. The revisionist betrayal has brought about the setting up and strengthening of genuine communist parties, as it is bound to do, everywhere, and these parties have taken up and raised high the banner of Marxism-Leninism and the revolution, which the revisionists have rejected and trampled in the mud. On them devolves the burden of opposing the glorious Leninist strategy of the revolution, the great theory of Marxism-Leninism to the global strategy of world imperialism and revisionism. On them devolves the burden of making the masses fully conscious of the objectives and the right road of the struggle and the sacrifices it demands, of uniting, organizing, guiding and leading them to victory (Enver Hoxha, “Imperialism and Revolution”, April 1978, English version).

Enver Hoxha:

“It must be said that, especially in recent times, in the international communist movement and in the relations among certain parties, there have arisen deep ideological and political disagreements, the deepening of which can only bring damage to our great cause. Therefore ... it is necessary to condemn the mistakes and negative manifestations which have appeared so far and to correct them” (Enver Hoxha, speech delivered at the Moscow Meeting - November 16, 1960; page 47 English edition, Tirana 1969).

The Khrushchevites, the Titoites, the Chinese, the «Eurocommunists» and others have betrayed Marxism-Leninism, have become lackeys of the bourgeoisie, but irrespective of this, Marxism-Leninism is and will remain the invincible doctrine of the proletariat, which will light the way for millions and millions of mankind who have risen or are rising in revolution to destroy the decayed society of capitalism.

The first world historical great deed of Hoxhaism was protection of the 4th Classic of Marxism-Leninism, comrade Stalin - and consequently the protection of the other Classics of Marxism-Leninism - namely Marx, Engels and Lenin - against the whole imperialist-revisionist world and its anti-communist, bourgeois ideology.

Enver Hoxha unmasked the international modern revisionism, with that of the Soviet Union as the center. Hoxhaism is the a strong anti-revisionist weapon of the proletariat against this main danger within the international communist and workers' movement. Comrade Enver Hoxha kept the struggle against revisionism in the political and ideological field for an essential prerequisite to successfully fight imperialism and to secure the victory of the socialist revolution on a world scale.

Hoxhaism teaches that modern revisionism as the main bourgeois agency within the labor movement and the main opponent within the Communist World Movement.

Hoxhaism means: Fire on modern revisionism as the main support of capitalism within the working class and as the chief enemy of communism.

"Thus, they proved once again that the slogan of 'the creative development of Marxism and the struggle against dogmatism' is the favourite slogan common to every variant of revisionism". (Enver Hoxha, »Euro-Communism is Anti-Communism«, page 43, German edition of the KPD/ML, 1980)

Hoxhaism means: defense and advancement of the Stalinist theory of social fascism by its application to modern revisionism. Without successful defense of the Hoxhaist theory of social-fascism there is no victory of the world socialist revolution and no restoration of socialism.

The Khrushchevites' betrayal freed the capitalist bourgeoisie from their fear of the revolution and communism, assisted world capital and gave it the possibility to draw breath. The Khrushchevite betrayal split the revolutionary forces of the whole world, put off the proletarian revolution, fostered nationalist manifestations and gave the capitalist bourgeoisie time and the possibility to strengthen its weak internal position at the expense of the proletarian revolution and to undertake other activities and enter new combinations among states in the international arena. Filled with nationalist sentiments, the Khrushchevite social-imperialists aspired to turn the Soviet Union from a socialist state into an imperialist atomic superpower, and they worked until they achieved this aim. Thus two superpowers competing for world hegemony were created. The law of both of them — the United States of America and the Soviet Union, is the law of the fight for plunder, the law of the enslavement of the peoples. This law is associated with the achievement of monstrous «alliances», with the capture, through disguised force, of strategic points to be used for the preparation of war, with their arming to the teeth, and the build-up of ever more modern atomic weapons, is accompanied with the plunder and the economic and political gobbling up of many states by means of intimidation, blackmail, credits and «aid», and subversion. (Reflections on China, II, 21 June 1975)

Hoxhaism has left to us detailed criticism on the modern revisionists in the question of the Soviet system. They collected valuable experiences related to the Albanian model of the Soviet system. The teachings of comrade Enver Hoxha – concerning the Soviet system in Albania - are indispensable for the struggle of the global Soviet system against world revisionism.

World socialism is impossible without the global restoration of the communist Soviet system.

Enver Hoxha has thoroughly debunked the Titoism in his essay "The Yugoslav 'self-administration' - capitalist theory and practice" as a weapon in the fight against the Soviet Union of Lenin and Stalin, socialism, revolution and national liberation. The "Yugoslav model" was standard of the pact with world imperialism. Under such circumstances, the Soviet system could never be developed under the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Enver Hoxha, defended Stalin against the attacks of Tito, that Stalin allegedly would have “deviated from” Leninism on the question of the Soviets:

“Now it is common knowledge that the differences between the Yugoslav leadership and Stalin were deep rooted. The revisionist views of the Yugoslav leading group were crystallized long before the liberation of their country, possibly since the time when the Communist Party of Yugoslavia took part in the Comintern and worked in total illegality under the regime of the Serbian kings. Even at that time, its leadership had deviationist, Trotskyite views, which the Comintern condemned whenever they were expressed” (Enver Hoxha, “The Yugoslav 'Self-Administration' – a Capitalist Theory and Practice, page 5, English edition)

“Stalin, like Lenin, viewed democracy from the class angle, as a form of the political organization of the society, as a political condition for drawing the masses into governing the country, to defend and strengthen the dictatorship of the proletariat, to block the way to revisionist degeneration and restoration of capitalism. Stalin, as the Marxist-Leninist he was, was quite correctly sternly opposed to one-sided, liberal and anarchist concepts of democracy and took a stand against the petty bourgeois distortion and misuse of the rights and freedoms that proletarian democracy ensures. And he was absolutely right. The revisionists, on the contrary, want to transform the proletarian democracy into a bourgeois democracy in theory, just as they have done in practice. This is why they are against Stalin” (Enver Hoxha, “The Yugoslav 'Self-Administration' – a Capitalist Theory and Practice, page 91, English edition).

“In order to present their notorious system of 'socialist self-administration' as fair and acceptable, the Titoites oppose it to the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie and the dictatorship of the proletariat. Making no distinction between capitalism and socialism, the Titoites consider all other political systems 'dogmatic'” ((Enver Hoxha, “The Yugoslav 'Self-Administration' – a Capitalist Theory and Practice, page 49, English edition).

“It is well known that the idea of the leading role of the Marxist-Leninist party is closely linked with the idea of its revolutionary ideology, therefore, to detach the mass organizations from this party means to detach them from the Marxist-Leninist ideology, and to fill the vacuum with revisionist bourgeois ideology” (Enver Hoxha, “The Yugoslav 'Self-Administration' – a Capitalist Theory and Practice, page 95, English edition).

It is absolutely essential that the exposures of revisionism and its parties, with their forms, methods and policies should be done, although the exposure through newspaper articles and speeches, but should be accompanied with actions so that the proletariat will clearly see the distinction between its Marxist-Leninist party and the revisionist and social-democratic parties, not just because their political and ideological objectives differ, but especially because the party of the proletariat struggles to put its objectives into practice and thus, it will strengthen its ranks with such elements by admitting them as party members. Only through such work can the Marxist-Leninist parties in the capitalist countries be sure that their ranks will be increased with convinced and disciplined people, loyal to Marxism-Leninism, prepared for the revolution through violence and not through reforms.

Enver Hoxha continued successfully with the Leninist-Stalinist fight against the restoration of capitalism. The Hoxhaism produces evidence to the world proletariat, that socialism triumphs over modern revisionism if the working class is guided by the teachings of the 5 classics of Marxism-Leninism. Hoxhaism is the doctrine of the victory of the working class over the modern revisionism, and secures the way to the victory of the world socialist revolution.

Hoxhaism teaches us the unavoidable struggle against the danger of the revisionist degeneration of socialism. The enemies blame Hoxhaism for the collapse of Socialist Albania. However, it was the turning away from Hoxhaism and the inaptness of its further development after the death of comrade Enver Hoxha. Even the highest form of development of socialism in Albania could not remain standing after the death of comrade Enver Hoxha. The lessons from the neo-revisionist betrayal will be learned on solid evidence base of Stalinism-Hoxhaism which is invincible (if correctly implemented and further developed). It is without question that new, qualitatively further developed socialist countries will follow by means of avoiding the mistakes and shortcomings of their predecessors. . Overcoming the revisionist degeneration in Albania is possible and necessary, but it will be absolutely impossible without the correct implementation of Hoxhaism.

The negation of the negation of the socialist revolution in “one” country is the socialist world-revolution in all countries of the world.

The negation of the negation of socialism in "one" country is world-socialism in all countries of the world.

The teachings of the negation of negation are not limited in the critical reflections on capitalism and its transformation to socialism. We Marxist-Leninists apply this method also to our own communist world movement, particularly its dialectical transitional development before, during and after the first period of socialism (in “one” country). Just, as we discovered the laws of negation of the negation of capitalism, we discover the negation of negation of restored capitalism – and in the result this is nothing but restored socialism.

And this includes our necessary application of Enver Hoxha's teachings on the restoration of capitalism to the restoration of socialism – last not least by means of the dialectical method of negation of negation.

Mao Tse-tung applied idealistically the dialectical method of the negation. His ideas "on the contradiction" led him to the counter-revolutionary "three-world-theory" which even deceives and fraudulent conceals the existence of socialism in Albania. However, by applying the law of negation to materialism, comrade Enver Hoxha taught us that the world proletariat and the Marxist-Leninists all over the world fulfil their task of proletarian internationalism. They give their support to the proletarians in the revisionist countries, to smash down the rule of the revisionist cliques and to raise the banner of the world revolution and socialism. The Marxist-Leninist struggle against restoration of capitalism and its revisionist ideology is not restricted on national borders, not limited in socialist countries (to avoid capitalist restoration) and revisionist countries (to destroy restored capitalism), however an international task which must be solved by the revolution of the whole world proletariat.

Comrade Enver Hoxha defined the “three-world-theory” as a negation of the Marxist-Leninist theory:

“The theory of 'three worlds' is in opposition to the theory of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, or more exactly, is a negation of it. It is of no consequence to know who first invented the term the 'third world', who was the first to divide the world in three parts, but it is certain that Lenin did not make such a division, while the Communist Party of China claims paternity to it, asserting that Mao Tsetung invented the theory of 'three worlds'. If he is the author who first formulated this so-called theory, this is further evidence that Mao Tse-tung is not a Marxist. But even if he only adopted this theory from others, this, too, is proof enough that he is not a Marxist. (Enver Hoxha, “Imperialism and Revolution”).

While Enver Hoxha and the PLA began to liberate the world communist movement from the dominating influence of the Soviet revisionism on the Moscow conference in 1960, Maoism entered the world stage for the purpose to rescue modern revisionism on behalf of world imperialism. This was the reason why the Chinese revisionists worked out a new revisionist general-line.

We condemn Mao not only because he was active at the time of the Comintern as a splitter of the communist world movement, but also as splitter of the Marxist-Leninist world movement at the time of Comrade Enver Hoxha, namely as a splitter in the struggle against modern revisionism.

The anti-revisionist merits of Enver Hoxha do not only consist in defending the four Classics of Marxism-Leninism faithfully but moreover in stepping forward in the struggle of defending the dictatorship of the proletariat against revisionists at power, against social-fascism and social-imperialism at power within the period of the restoration of capitalism in general and in particular under the conditions of the liquidation of the dictatorship the proletariat in the Soviet Union. Applying to the teachings of Enver Hoxha guarantees the victory of the renaissance of socialism which makes impossible the renaissance of revisionism at power. The great renaissance of socialism is based on the great renaissance of the anti-revisionist struggle.

The teachings of Enver Hoxha are the teachings of Marxism-Leninism against modern revisionism in the period of the restoration of capitalism. The Marxist-Leninist teachings of the restoration of socialism are based upon the teachings of the struggle against modern revisionism.

The teachings of the restoration of socialism are the teachings of the removal of the unavoidableness of capitalist restoration. We are living in the epoch of global revolutions which herald the second epoch of socialism, the beginning of the history of world socialism, the history of the political power of the global proletariat.

Hoxhaism is a the ideological international declaration of war against world revisionism.

Fire on the neo-revisionist betrayal!

Let 's hold high the victorious anti-revisionist banner of comrade Enver Hoxha!

Hoxhaism and the struggle against imperialism and fascism

The theory of Lenin on imperialism and its further development by Stalin and Enver Hoxha will be defended against all kinds of ideologues in general, and against the neo-revisionists, in particular.

Enver Hoxha:

“If we study this work of Lenin's carefully and faithfully adhere to his analysis and conclusions of genius, we shall see that imperialism in our days fully retains those same characteristics that Lenin described, that the Leninist definition of our epoch as the epoch of imperialism and proletarian revolutions remains unshaken, and that the triumph of the revolution is inevitable.

From a careful study of this work, we shall see how the revisionists, and the Chinese leaders among them, distort the Leninist thought on imperialism, how they understand the aims, strategy and tactics of imperialism. Their writings, declarations, stands and actions show that their view of the nature of imperialism is completely wrong, they see it from counter-revolutionary and anti-Marxist positions, as did all the parties of the Second International and their ideologues, Kautsky and company, whom Lenin ruthlessly exposed” (Enver Hoxha, “Imperialism and Revolution”, English version).

Today's development of world imperialism and the inevitable victory of its revolutionary destruction is fully confirmed:

firstly, by the Leninist-Stalinist theory of imperialism,

secondly by Hoxhaist theory on imperialism,

thirdly, by the victory of the October Revolution over imperialism,

fourthly, by the victory of the Stalinist world-camp,

fifthly, by the victory of Albanian socialism over the entire imperialist / social-imperialist world.

Enver Hoxha:

“What is the road that must be followed ?

The road which must be followed is the road of the political and ideological struggle, including armed struggle, of all the peoples and the progressive and revolutionary forces against imperialist powers, against world reaction, against capitalism, against the big multinational companies ...

The contradictions between the imperialist powers in the international arena exist and will become more and more profound, the four contradictions of the present epoch defined by Lenin and Stalin will grow deeper. These contradictions will result in the destruction of imperialism, capitalism in decay, by the revolution.” (Enver Hoxha, »The Superpowers«, page 443, Tirana 1986, English version).

[remark: The 4 contradictions: between the two opposing systems – socialist and capitalist; the contradiction between labour and capital in the capitalist countries; the contradictions between the oppressed peoples and nations and imperialism; the contradiction among the imperialist powers].

Enver Hoxha:

“Proceeding from Lenin's conclusions on the nature of imperialism and its place in history, as a result of the contradictions eroding it from within and people's liberation and revolutionary struggles, the whole of world imperialism as a social system no longer has that undivided power to dominate it once possessed. This is the dialectics of history and it confirms the Marxist-Leninist thesis that imperialism is on the decline, in decadence and decay.

The trend towards the weakening of capitalism and imperialism is the main trend of world history today. Marx and Lenin argued this on the basis of concrete facts, historical events, and materialistic dialectics.

It is true that the peoples want liberation, but they can gain this liberation only through struggle, through efforts, and headed by a militant leadership. Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin teach us that this leadership is the proletariat of each country. But the Proletariat and its Marxist-Leninist parties must make thorough-going political, economic and military analyses, weigh everything in the balance, make decisions and define the appropriate strategy and tactics, always bearing in mind the preparation and carrying out of the revolution. If the revolution is forgotten, as it is by the Chinese, neither the analyses, actions, strategy, nor the tactics can be Marxist-Leninist and revolutionary.

We cannot have any illusions about imperialism of any kind, either powerful or less powerful. Imperialism from its nature creates the conditions for economic and political expansion, for unleashing wars, because its character is essentially exploitative, aggressive. Therefore, to deceive the masses of the peoples who want liberation, that they will achieve this if they are guided by such revisionist theories as that of “three worlds”, is to perpetrate a crime against the peoples and the revolution.

Our epoch, as Lenin teaches us, is the epoch of imperialism and proletarian revolutions. We Marxist-Leninists must understand from this that we have to combat world imperialism, any imperialism, any capitalist power, which exploits the proletariat and the peoples, with the greatest severity. We stress the Leninist thesis that the revolution is now on the order of the day. The world is going to advance towards a new society which will be the socialist society. World capitalism, imperialism and social-imperialism will become even more decayed and will come to an end through the revolution.

Lenin teaches us that we must fight imperialism to the finish, must criticize it in the broad sense of the term and rouse the oppressed classes against the policy of imperialism, against the bourgeoisie. The Marxist-Leninist analysis of the development of imperialism today clearly shows that nothing in Lenin's analysis and conclusions on the nature and features of imperialism and the revolution can be altered. The attempts of all opportunists, from the social-democrats down to the Khrushchevite and Chinese revisionists, to distort the Leninist theses on imperialism are counterrevolutionary. Their aim is to negate the revolution, to prettify imperialism and to prolong the life of capitalism” (Enver Hoxha, “Imperialism and Revolution”, English version)..

Comrade Enver Hoxha emphasized:

In the present situation there are a series of weak links in the capitalist world chain, as there will be in the future, at which the revolutionaries and the peoples must carry out ceaseless activity, an unrelenting and courageous organized struggle to break these links one after another. This, of course, requires work, struggle, sacrifices and selfdenial. Led by the interests of the revolution, the courageous peoples and individuals can and will face up to the large forces of imperialism, socialimperialism and reaction, which are linking up with one another, setting up new alliances and seeking a way out of the difficult situations created for them. It is the revolutionaries, the MarxistLeninists, the struggle of the peoples on all continents, in all countries, that create these difficult situations for the regressive forces.

The communists everywhere in the world have no reason to fear the baseless myths which have predominated in revolutionary thought for some time. The communists must fight to win over those who make mistakes, in order to help them mend their ways, making great efforts to this end without, of course, falling into opportunism themselves. In the process of the principled struggle, in the beginning there will be some vacillations but the vacillations will occur among the waverers, whereas amongst those who are resolute and apply the Marxist-Leninist theory correctly, who have a proper view of the interests of the proletariat of their own country, of the world proletariat and the revolution, there will be no vacillation. However, when the waverers see that the comrades are standing firm on their revolutionary Marxist-Leninist opinions, they will be further strengthened in their fight.

If the Marxist-Leninists apply the Marxist-Leninist theory correctly and with determination, on the basis of the present international conditions and the national conditions of each country, if they ceaselessly strengthen proletarian internationalist unity in merciless struggle against imperialism and modern revisionism of all trends, they will certainly overcome all the difficulties they will encounter on their road, however great they may be. Properly applied, Marxism-Leninism and its immortal principles will inevitably bring about the destruction of world capitalism and _the triumph of the dictatorship of the proletariat, by means of which the working class will build socialism and march towards communism."

In order to survive, it has devised new forms for the exploitation of the masses, not just on a national scale, but also on a world scale, has contrived its last and most sophisticated means of plunder, neo-colonialism, has created financial links and economic and military alliances through which it intends to hold in complete or partial dependence many states belonging to what is called the «second world», the «third world», the «non-aligned world» or the «developing countries». All these terms, which refer to the various political forces acting in the world today, cover up and do not bring out the class character of these political forces, the fundamental contradictions of our epoch, the key problem which is predominant today on a national and international scale, the ruthless struggle between the bourgeois-imperialist world, on the one hand, and socialism, the world proletariat, and its natural allies, on the other." (Enver Hoxha, "Imperialism and Revolution", English version)

Enver Hoxha:

“Our Marxist-Leninist theory teaches us that the deepening of crises within the capitalist world is the beginning of the death agony and coma of this world. Therefore, world capital is making desperate efforts to escape from this terrible grip which has it by the throat and is strangling it. But escape is impossible, because it is the capitalist system itself which gives birth to the crisis, which fosters it and intensifies it to the higher degree. The temporary or relatively long-term treaties and agreements between imperialists are only palliatives, they are built on sand” (Enver Hoxha, “The Superpowers”, page 542.543, English edition).

Comrade Enver Hoxha defined scientifically the stage which imperialism has reached today :

World capitalism, which is proceeding irretrievably towards crises and decline, just as Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin predicted with such genius, has now reached the stage of imperialism in decay” (Enver Hoxha, “Imperialism and Revolution”, English version).

What does this stage, “Imperialism in decay”, mean in relation to the fundamental contradictions of our epoch ? Every moment of further decay of imperialism is simultaneously a moment for the further prospering of the proletarian world revolution. This trend means that our epoch reaches the stage of world socialism by means of the socialist world revolution. The trend of imperialism's decay is connected indivisibly with the trend of the restoration of socialism. World socialism is the highest stage of socialism, is - in view of world history - the replacement of the epoch of imperialism by the epoch of socialism.

Enver Hoxha:

“Capitalism has entered the phase of its decay. This situation is arousing the revolt of the peoples and impelling them to revolution. The struggle of the peoples against imperialism and the bourgeois capitalist cliques is building up in various forms, with varying intensities. Quantity will inevitably turn into quality. This will happen first in those countries which constitute the weakest link of the capitalist chain and where the consciousness and organization of the working class have reached a high level, where there is a deep political and ideological understanding of the problem.

Imperialism has stepped up its barbarous oppression and exploitation of the peoples. But, at the same time, the peoples of the world are becoming more and more conscious that they cannot go on living in capitalist society, where the working masses are no less oppressed and exploited -than in the pre-War period.

Despite all the efforts by imperialism and its hangers-on, it will find no stability, now or in the future, in its struggle to establish its hegemony over the peoples. It cannot find stability because of the awakening consciousness of the working class and the masses of oppressed working people who want liberation, as well as because of the inevitable inter-imperialist contradictions.

The peoples are seeing, and later they will see ever more clearly, that world imperialism and capitalism are not based solely on the economic, military, political and ideological strength of the two superpowers, but are based also on the wealthy classes which keep the peoples of their own countries in bondage, under exploitation and under fear so they will not rise up to gain their true freedom and independence.

The broad masses of various peoples of the world have also begun to understand that the present-day bourgeois-capitalist society, the exploiting system of world imperialism, must be overthrown. For the peoples this is not just an aspiration, in many countries they have taken up arms.

Therefore, there is no need to concoct theories which divide the world into three or four parts, into “aligned” and “non-aligned”, but the great objective historical process must be seen and interpreted correctly, according to the teachings of Marxism-Leninism. The world is divided in two, the world of capitalism and the new world of socialism, which are locked in a merciless struggle with each other. In this fight the new, the socialist world, will triumph, while the old capitalist society, the bourgeois and imperialist society, will be overthrown” (Enver Hoxha, “Imperialism and Revolution”, English version).

Stalinism-Hoxhaism teaches us: The existence of the imperialist system of states is unavoidably connected with its revolutionary destruction and with the establishment of the dictatorship of the world proletariat.

Enver Hoxha:

“The present crisis is the crisis and failure of state monopoly capitalism” (Enver Hoxha, Report on the 8th Congress of the PLA, Selected Works, Volume 6, page 387, English version)

Comrade Enver Hoxha emphasized:

“By means of the system of credits, loans, aid, and various funds, they [the imperialists] have turned these countries into permanent debtors at the mercy of creditors who, in return for the money provided, demand not only their title-deeds, but also their souls. Accompanying the credits and aid, the multi-national companies have established themselves, becoming not only monopoly holders of concessions for the exploitation of the mines, oil, electric power, wholesale trade, communications, etc., but also political centres with which the different groups in power in each country are linked. The big banks with alluring names like the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund, the European Development Fund, etc., have been transformed into the headquarters of international neocolonialism for the domination and exploitation of the new countries. They are the financial and political centres which, together with the multinationals, organize and inspire coups d'état, topple governments and establish others, and even cause local wars when the interests of big capital require this” (Enver Hoxha, Report on the 8th Congress of the PLA, Selected Works, Volume 6, page 394, English version)

“Present-day capitalist and revisionist world economy .. is more and more degrading the internal social relations and the relations between states” (Enver Hoxha, Report on the 8th Congress of the PLA, Selected Works, Volume 6, page 387, English version) [underlined by the Comintern / ML]

“Basing economic development on foreign loans, which was trumpeted for a time, both in the West and in the East, as the road to the salvation of mankind, has turned out to be a strategy for the enslavement of the poor and weak countries by imperialism and the big industrialized powers” (Enver Hoxha, Address to the electors , November 10, 1982, Selected Works, Volume 6, page 605, English version).

On many capitalist countries the crisis is great, terrorism, which is supported by capital, is assuming major proportions. In order to emerge from the crisis and crush any possibility of insurrection and revolution by the working class and the people, the reactionary forces in these countries are preparing the terrain for an authoritarian state, for the fascist dictatorship. If the working masses, we Marxist-Leninist parties and the progressive peoples fail to understand that the fascist dictatorship comes as a result of the difficult situation which the power of the capital is experiencing and do not fight it, then,, sooner or later fascism will be established, because the crisis will continue, since capitalism will strive to protect its income at the expense of the working masses who will become more and more impoverished. Being unarmed, because they do not understand why such a thing is occurring and do not fight against it and the other actions of the capital, these masses will accept the bondage of a fascist circle, thinking that it will be a way out of the crisis. In fact it is not a way out for the working class and the working people, because fascism represents the most ferocious dictatorship of capital, which will oppress the masses of the peoples even more than it is doing today. It is the last resort of exploiting capital.

Enver Hoxha:

“So far, no people, no proletariat and no communist or workers' party has assumed power without bloodshed and without violence”.

Hoxhaism teaches that there is no other anti-fascist (anti-social-fascist) way for the proletariat than the way to the victory of the socialist revolution.

Enver Hoxha speaks of fascism, if the fundamentals of capitalist power are existentially threatened. 1976, in his report to the 7th Congress of the Party of Labour of Albania, he stated:

"When it finds it impossible to cope with the revolts of the workers and people in the pseudo-democratic forms or with the «talking-shop» methods of parliaments, then the bourgeois state clamps down on them with its laws, its violence, its buldgeon. That is what is happening now in most countries where the crisis has sharpened the contradictions between labour and capital, and the revolt of the working people at the situation created is becoming ever more powerful. In these situations the danger of fascism is becoming ever more threatening. It is a known fact that when capital finds itself driven into a blind alley and under the heavy blows of the working class, it is compelled either to declare itself bankrupt or to establish its fascist dictatorship and head for war."

Fascism is the most brutal dictatorship of the bourgeoisie." (Enver Hoxha, »The Marxist-Leninist Movement and the Crisis of World Capitalism «, Social Studies, Volume. 3, page 23, 1986, Tirana, engl. ed.).

"When they see the game is up, the capitalists throw off all disguise and establish the fascist dictatorship." (Enver Hoxha, speech of the first secretary of the Central Committee of the PLA - 10. 03.1974 before the voters in the constituency 209 of Tirana, 1974)

"The bourgeoisie may allow you to sing psalms, but then it deals you a fascist blow to the head and crushes you because you have not trained the necessary cadres to attack, nor done illegal work, you have not prepared a place where you can be protected and still work, nor the means with which to fight We should forestall this tragic eventuality" (Enver Hoxha, Speech delivered at the Meeting of 81 Communist and Workers' Parties in Moscow on November 16, 1960, Tirana 1972, English edition).

"Fascism had eliminated not only the national independence of the occupied countries, but also all democratic freedoms, and had even buried bourgeois democracy itself. Therefore, the war against fascism had to be not only a war for national liberation but also a war for the defense and development of democracy. As regards the communist parties, the achievement of these two objectives had to be linked with the struggle for socialism." [Enver Hoxha: "Euro-communism is Anti-communism", page 56, KPD/ML, 1980, German edition - underlined by the Comintern (SH)].

Enver Hoxha called for the "tasks of the war for independence and democracy with the struggle for socialism". (Enver Hoxha: "Euro-communism is Anti-communism", page 56, KPD/ML, 1980, German edition).

Hoxhaism teaches:

Those who only limit themselves on anti-imperialist and anti-fascist class struggle, are far from being Marxist-Leninists. Marxist-Leninists are only those who expand the anti-imperialist and anti-fascist class struggle on the dictatorship of the proletariat - namely not only in words but also in deeds.

In the end of the XX. Century the international counter-revolution, under the leadership of US-imperialism, celebrated the fall of the last socialist country – Albania. However, in the course of the history of the struggle between revolution and counter-revolution, the proletarian, socialist world-revolution will give the right answer and celebrate the establishment of world socialism in the XXI. century. The history proved more than once: Every victory of the international counter-revolution caused an even greater victory of the proletarian, socialist world revolution.

present stage of the struggle between revolution and counterrevolution:

autarchy of the world-reaction; world of fascism;

globalised formation of the international counter-revolution after its victory against the last socialist world-bastion – the Socialist Albania of comrade Enver Hoxha;

crises of capitalist globalisation – crises of the international counter-revolution;

global formation of the revolutionary forces; the world proletariat leads the oppressed peoples in the decisive struggles against capitalist world-barbarism;

The international counter-revolution creates a bloodbath against onslaught of the world revolution; first Civil World War;

this struggle ends with the victory of the world revolution over the international counter-revolution;

Enver Hoxha:

“To conquer socialism, to put down the revolutionary liberation movements, to combat the great influence of the Marxist - Leninist theory and establish its hegemony in the world, American imperialism went about it in two ways.

The first was that of aggression and armed intervention. In order to crush and stamp out the revolution, they undertook military intervention...

The other way was that of ideological aggression and subversion... and of efforts to bring about the bourgeois degeneration... In this direction, American imperialism and world capital as a whole employed powerful means of propaganda and ideological diversion.”

“The enemies of the revolution and the peoples want to create the impression that, because of the changes that have occurred in the world and the losses that socialism has suffered, circumstances entirely different from those of the past have been created.”

“Imperialism and capitalism have come to understand that now they can no longer exploit the peoples of the world with the previous methods, therefore, provided their system is not threatened, they have to concede something, which will cause them no harm, in order to keep the masses in bondage. This they want to do with the investments and credits they distribute to those states and cliques in which they have established their influence or by means of arms, i.e., local wars, either by taking a direct part in them or by inciting one state against another. Local wars serve to make those countries which fall into its trap more deeply subject to the hegemony of world capital.”

“It is clear to us that this is by no means a new policy, but an old predatory imperialist, neo-colonialist, enslaving policy of ruthlessly exploiting the peoples and their wealth, a policy of putting down revolutions and national liberation wars. US imperialism now wants to give this old, permanent policy an allegedly new, fresh coat of paint, to arm counter-revolutionary elements, whether in power or not, with weapons to fight communism which raises the peoples and the proletariat in liberation wars and revolution.

(Enver Hoxha, »Imperialism and Revolution«, English edition).

The outer class enemy of the world proletariat, the main enemy of the peoples - this is the world imperialism, are the imperialist world powers and all their lackeys in their entirety. At present it is still the old dominant superpower of the USA at the head, inclusively its Western imperialist allies. In the struggle against the US-imperialism and its allies we do not automatically side with this or that rivaling imperialist power or this or that fractious national bourgeoisie. After the U.S. imperialism put the Russian social-imperialist superpower out of contention, the global domination of American imperialism seemed to be unchallenged. Meanwhile, the emerging superpower, China, is so strong that we come across a situation which is comparable with the days of Enver Hoxha: The main enemy of the world revolution are two warring superpowers. In the contemporary world situation, the crises and wars of world capitalism aggravated with all its consequences. In other words, the current constellation of the rivalry of the superpowers is much more favorable for the world revolution than in times of Enver Hoxha. In the struggle against the Chinese revisionists comrade Enver Hoxha emphasized:

“The very posing of the question that one imperialism is stronger and the other weaker, and is aggressive and the other tamed, is not Marxist-Leninist. (Enver Hoxha, “Imperialism and Revolution”, Chapter II, English edition).

And the posing of the question that the imperialists of the "civilized world" are "worse" than the reactionaries in the "uncivilized" countries, is just as little Marxist-Leninist. For communists, there is no "solidarity" with the "small" criminals against the "big" criminals, no unity with the “leftist” enemies against the rightist enemies. One can not be a truly internationalist anti-imperialist, if one does not combat both the foreign bourgeoisie and the bourgeoisie in one's own country. In a predatory conflict between world imperialism and the national bourgeoisie one can side neither with the blood-thirsty world imperialists, nor with the reactionary national bourgeoisie who exploits and oppresses its own people brutally, who spills their blood on the streets. Hoxhaism teaches to fight against EVERY exploitation and oppression -, against both the domestic and foreign exploitation and oppression. Principally, in every country of the world, the anti-imperialist front is directed against both the external and internal enemies.

Enver Hoxha:

The enemies of our enemies can be our true friends when they are on the same ideological and political line with us.

The enemies of our enemies can be temporary allies with us on certain questions, but we must not give way to them on principles and we must make this clear to them, must not conceal our line and principles from them.

The enemies of our enemies can be our enemies, and the two sides must remain and be fought as our enemies.

The contradictions between these two sets of enemies are an incontestable law, they are inevitable contradictions, which our stern, continuous, consistent, principled fight deepens and makes more acute. We must take advantage of them, but must not soften and make concessions to one or the other, or fall for their traps and their demagogy.

All the traitors of every hue and under any disguise will suffer disgraceful defeat. There will never be a «marriage» between communists and revisionist traitors. On the contrary, the struggle will go on until the total defeat of modern revisionism and the complete victory of Marxism-Leninism.

Enver Hoxha:

“The imperialists and the social-imperialists have as their close allies the reactionary bourgeoisie of each country where they exercise their influence. They use these allies to do their dirty work and wield the whip on their behalf, so they feed and arm them to have them ready as a striking force in a world conflagration and against peoples who rise in revolution against their internal and external oppressors. Therefore, these two forces cannot be separated from one another. Without combating the one, you cannot combat the other, without combating the internal reactionary force until you have overthrown it, you cannot combat the external enemy, you cannot prevent war. You must destroy every kind of base the superpowers have established and created in a given country, for in this way you weaken and destroy the world influence and strength they have based on the enslavement of peoples and countries.” (Enver Hoxha, Selected Works, Volume 5, Report to the VII. Congress of the PLA, English edition)

The anti-Marxist theoreticians condemn terrorism in the forms in which it manifests itself today, but they make no distinction between acts of terrorism and the militant actions towards revolution which the working class, led by a Marxist-Leninist party, has to carry out. Being against the revolution, they are against any action, and the state power of the bourgeoisie and its social-democratic and revisionist defenders call any such action, any attempt in this direction, and any military organization of the working class, led by the Marxist-Leninist party, a terrorist act. Indeed, the revisionists vote in favour of strengthening the police and security organs in order to combat terrorism and anarchism. This means allowing the bourgeoisie a free hand to attack any form of organization and struggle of the working class and its vanguard to liberate itself from the yoke of capitalism.

Enver Hoxha unmasked the counter-revolutionary character of the “Mao Tsetung thought” which “stand closest” to Marxism-Leninism:

“The theory of Mao Tsetung, “Mao Tsetung thought”, which emerged in these new conditions, was bound to cloak itself with the most revolutionary and most scientific theory of the time – Marxism-Leninism, but in essence it remained an anti-Marxist theory, because it is opposed to proletarian revolution and goes to the aid of imperialism in decay” (Enver Hoxha, “Reflections on China”, Volume II, page 795, English edition).

“The Chinese revisionists call on the international proletariat to unite with the blackest reaction !” (Enver Hoxha: “Reflections on China”, Volume II, page 680, English edition).

“Communists are being killed in the world – the Chinese revisionists couldn't care less” (Enver Hoxha: “Reflections on China”, Volume II, page 716, English edition).

“The policy of China must be combated mercilessly, must be exposed, because it is causing great damage to the world revolution, the peoples and socialism and is an opportunist policy which brings grist to the mill of imperialism and revisionism. This is criminal and the criminals, be they political ones, must be unmasked and knocked on the head” (Enver Hoxha: “Reflections on China”, Volume II, page 756, English edition).

What lesson draws the world revolution from the victory of the counter-revolution which was operating under the guise of "anti-revisionism" in Albania? It is imperative that the world revolution smashes the link between overt and covert counter-revolution - both internal and external counter-revolution, through disempowerment of the whole world bourgeoisie, who establishes close ties between the counter-revolutions in all countries of the world.

We will not support reactionary classes in their struggle against imperialism. We will not support uprisings of reactionary classes against imperialism and capitalism. This is what Lenin teaches us.

We must unconditionally support every revolutionary war and simultaneously unconditionally fighting against the reactionary wars (including those reactionary wars which are allegedly "revolutionary" wars - initiated by the counter-revolution to deceive the people!). The restriction of the struggle against capitalism in one's own country or its exclusion from the universal anti-imperialist struggle, is as much revisionist as, vice versa, the restriction of the anti-imperialist struggle on a global scale and exclusion of the struggle against capitalism in one's own country. Anti-imperialist struggle on a global scale and struggle against capitalism in one's own country is indivisible. Anti-imperialism is the combination of the inner civil war with the outer national liberation war. The national liberation war of an oppressed people is the continuation of its policy of the national liberation from imperialism by utter means. The global liberation struggle of the oppressed peoples is the continuation of the politics of the global liberation from world imperialism by utter means. The one is impossible without the other.

We are responsible for transforming reactionary and imperialist wars into a civil war of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie, for socialism in all countries - without exception.

There is only one real armed internationalism: our devoted work in the development of the revolutionary movement and its armed struggle in one's own country, the armed support of such an armed struggle (and solely this one !) in all the other countries - without exception.

We will never turn our world-revolutionary weapons against the exploited and oppressed classes, but only against the exploiting and oppressing classes, against the reactionary and bourgeois governments, political parties and counter-revolutionary armies in all countries of the world.

The revolutionary weapons will only outgun the counter-revolutionary weapons if we purify them from any opportunistic contamination.

Hoxhaism and the world revolution

"The revolution is on the agenda to be solved in practice."

"Genuine Revolutionaries Call on the Proletarians and Peoples to Rise up for the New World, the Socialist World !"

Enver Hoxha:

»Of course, the world revolution will not break out within a day, and it will not be won within a day. The struggle will be long and difficult, will claim many victims, however the idea of the revolution and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat shall come up in the world, impetuously. « (Enver Hoxha, »25 Years of struggle and victory on the way towards socialism“, Tirana 1970, page 83, translation from German edition).

Comrade Enver Hoxha said:

“There are many hot-heads in the world, with good or evil intentions, who think that the revolution can be carried out at any time, at any moment, at any place. But such people are mistaken. The revolution cannot be carried out at any time and at any place, according to one's wishes. The revolution breaks out and is carried through at that link of the capitalist chain which is the weakest. For the revolution to break out and triumph, the; appropriate objective and subjective conditions must exist, and the favourable moment must be found for launching into revolution” (Enver Hoxha, “Imperialism and Revolution”, chapter III, “The revolution and the peoples”).

Maybe the world revolution does not win in the first instance, maybe it needs more than one attempt. But all these repeated attempts are like a ladder on which the world proletariat climbs up to its final victory

Enver Hoxha:

“If the Marxist-Leninists apply the Marxist-Leninist theory correctly and with determination, on the basis of the present international conditions and the national conditions of each country, if they ceaselessly strengthen proletarian internationalist unity in merciless struggle against imperialism and modern revisionism of all trends, they will certainly overcome all the difficulties they will encounter on their road, however great they may be. Properly applied, Marxism-Leninism and its immortal principles will inevitably bring about the destruction of world capitalism and the triumph of the dictatorship of the proletariat, by means of which the working class will build socialism and march towards communism” (Enver Hoxha, “Imperialism and Revolution”, April 1978, English version).

In my opinion, we Marxist-Leninists, the working class, the revolutionaries and ordinary progressive people in the world must take greater efforts to increase the superiority of the forces of the revolution. Why? Because capitalism, which is experiencing great disturbances at present possesses powerful means and has developed diverse modes of government, action, sabotage and disruption which hinder the advance of the revolution.

Let us not forget that while capitalism and the various parties in its service are in deep crisis, they are struggling to find forms, ways and expedients to befuddle and confuse the Marxist-Leninists who stand at the head of the working class, so that they will not manage to make the class conscious of the need to take action and capitalism and its parties will be able to split it while keeping it under their rule. The clear Marxist-Leninist ideas absolutely must be combined with actions, we cannot proceed from the idea that actions should be carried out only when the forces of the party are great, or capable of confronting the military machine of imperialism. But this should not be taken to mean that now the communists must hurl themselves into adventurous actions. Avoiding adventurism should not prevent us communists from acting in a Marxist-Leninist way.

Our Party and the Marxist-Leninists everywhere in the world must make clear to the working class and the people of their own countries that we ought to exploit the existing revolutionary situation to the full, not only by undertaking political and ideological actions, but also by striking blows when the conditions have matured and when the oppression has become intolerable.

The objective of the Marxist-Leninist parties which militate in the capitalist countries is to be parties of the barricades, parties of the capture of factories, of clashes with the forces of the order, and not parties which submit to the laws, regulations and formulas that reaction has created. This is logical and lawful, because all the creations of reaction and capital have the objective of the suppression of the revolution and the genuine parties have the duty not to obey them, but to attack them.

Hence, the working class, with its Marxist-Leninist party at the head, must be capable of understanding when the suitable national moment exists to organize and proceed towards the uprising. In this direction it is precisely the Marxist-Leninists who must be the most capable, the most wide-awake, the best organizers in order to become the subjective factor of the leadership of the revolution. In no way should we proceed from the idea that the conditions are not yet ripe for the revolution, or that the revolution cannot break out in the developed capitalist countries, therefore, we have to wait for it to develop in those states or continents in which the oppression, the forms and methods of exploitation are allegedly different from those in the metropolises. The working class and the Marxist-Leninist parties of the metropolises ought to give the peoples of various countries great aid, should assist their revolutionary movements. The greatest support and aid is to make life possible for monopoly capitalism and the foreign capital which collaborates with the local capital for the oppression of the peoples in the colonial and neo-colonial countries.

Therefore, the Marxist-Leninist parties in the capitalist countries will have to work and struggle unrelentingly in order to weaken international monopoly capital, the multinational companies which oppress and exploit the peoples, and make life difficult for them so that the people attack wherever the links in the capitalist chain are weakest, that is they must rise in insurrection to seize power and carry out democratic reforms and then to establish the dictatorship of the proletariat, a socialist structure and superstructure.

In various undeveloped capitalist countries today the people are rising in insurrection and revolution. But although the peoples in those countries are rising, fighting, and making sacrifices, the elements of the bourgeoisie, united with the big capital, are still doing everything they can through numerous tricks and intrigues to quell the insurrection, or turn it into a movement in their favour, and in that case, such a movement serves merely to eliminate this or that clique from the political scene in order to bring to power another more moderate but likewise capitalist clique which operates in agreement with big monopoly capital.

The Marxist – Leninist Movement and the World Crisis of Capitalism - 1979

Enver Hoxha:

The revolutionary strategy is indivisible from the revolutionary tactics employed by the Marxist-Leninist parties to achieve the aim and to fulfil the tasks of the revolution. While being part of strategy and in its service, tactics may change according to the ebb and flow of the revolutionary tide, the concrete circumstances and conditions - but always within the limits of the revolutionary strategy and Marxist-Leninist principles. (Enver Hoxha, “Imperialism and Revolution”, April 1978, English version).

Enver Hoxha:

„Our just struggle must build up the confidence of the peoples and progressive mankind in the triumph of the cause of the revolution, socialism and the liberation of the peoples. Our Party is on the correct road and it will triumph because the revolutionaries and the peoples of the world, and the Marxist-Leninist truth are on its side.“ (...) „In order to create confidence in the victory of the revolution, it is essential to organize the broad masses of the people, to make the proletariat conscious of the unwavering leadership of its genuine Marxist-Leninist party, because otherwise it may become involved in adventurist actions and compromise the victory of the revolution. The communists and the oppressed masses of the people have to realize that imperialism and world capitalism have great experience in oppressing the masses, in organizing the counter-revolution. Therefore, the tactics and strategy of the enemies, too, must be understood and coped with, because our ideology, our policy, our strategy and tactics are more powerful than any enemy, for they serve a just cause, the cause of communism“ (Enver Hoxha, „Imperialism and Revolution“, English edition, last chapter: „The defence of Marxism-Leninism – a major duty for all genuine revolutionaries“).

If we want to thwart the global-strategy of world imperialism and world social-imperialism, – as comrade Enver Hoxha taught us – then we

“...base ourselves firmly on the Marxist-Leninist theory of the revolution, ... that in the present situation there are a series of weak links in the capitalist world chain, as there will be in the future, at which the revolutionaries and the peoples must carry out ceaseless activity, an unrelenting and courageous organized struggle to break these links one after another” (Enver Hoxha, »Imperialism and Revolution«, English edition, Chapter: “The Revolution - the Only Weapon to Defeat the Strategy of the Enemies of the Proletariat and the Peoples”).

Can the former socialist chain-links - Soviet Union and Albania - be restored ?

Can the socialist world-chain be recreated and reconstructed ?

The Hoxhaism answers these important questions with a resounding "yes".

The Hoxhaism is the theory and tactics of the renewal of the socialist revolution and the re-establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Stalinism-Hoxhaism is the theory and tactics of the restoration of the chain-links of the socialist world-camp on an higher, advanced, global stage.

This theory emerged in the struggle of the Marxist-Leninists against modern revisionism in power.

Stalinism-Hoxhaism teaches that the socialist world-camp of Comrade Stalin is restorable through the proletarian socialist world revolution; that the global spreading of the dictatorship of the proletariat in more and more countries will be continued inevitably - until the final victory of world socialism even though the world-revolutionary centre - at first the Soviet Union and then Albania - suffered a defeat. Stalinism-Hoxhaism teaches that the world imperialist centre inevitably contributes itself to the strengthening of a renewed centre of the world revolution, that the struggle against the new world-revolutionary centre does not ultimately weaken, but on the contrary, strengthen it.

Every capitalist country will be inevitably transformed into a socialist country. Only the conditions for this transformation changes and with it the strategy and tactics and all the different measures which must be adopted. It is the global conditions which increasingly require global measures for this transformation. This was demonstrated by the five classics of Marxism-Leninism scientifically.

And each country, in which capitalism was restored, will be transformed inevitably into a restored socialist country. This principle was demonstrated scientifically by the fifth Classic of Marxism-Leninism, comrade Enver Hoxha.

Stalinism-Hoxhaism implies that even an assumed period of the restored world capitalism will inevitably end with a restoration of world socialism.

When capitalism was ripe for the victory over the capitalist-revisionist world in "one" country at the time of Comrade Enver Hoxha; then ... globalized capitalism of today is ripe for world-socialism !

No creation of the whole world-socialist chain – without the destruction of the whole world-imperialist chain. No victory of the world-revolutionary chain – without the victory of its chain-links.

Enver Hoxha:

“Time is working for us. We are the majority. We have not lost our confidence in the Bolsheviks of the Soviet Union. We have hopes in their strength, we like them, and we are sorry for them, because they are experiencing difficult moments. The Party of Labour of Albania will struggle with all its might to show them the disaster to which the revisionist group of Khrushchev is leading them. We must and will fight the main enemies, the imperialists and modern revisionists, until they are completely destroyed” (Enver Hoxha, “The Superpowers”, pages 64 – 65, English edition).

Enver Hoxha:

“While adhering consistently to the principle that the decisive factor for the triumph of the revolution is the internal one, the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat and the people of the country themselves, whereas the external factor is of an auxiliary and secondary nature, the Marxist-Leninist parties do not ignore or underrate in the least the external allies of the revolution. At the same time, they take a principled and flexible stand towards the external allies, just as they do towards the internal allies” (Enver Hoxha, “imperialism and Revolution”, chapter III: “The revolution and the peoples”, April 1978).

Enver Hoxha taught that this principle applies to the revolution in all countries - without exception. If we affirm that every revolution has its own internal and external factors then we cannot exclude the world revolution from this principle. As dialectical materialists, as vehement defenders of the science of the proletarian socialist world revolution we cannot allow any denial of the truth of the existence of the internal and external factors of the world revolution. Adhering consistently to the principle that the decisive factor for the triumph of the Albanian revolution was the internal one, we adhere this principle consistently to every other revolution, inclusively and especially to that of the world revolution.

Enver Hoxha:

“In order to create confidence in the victory of the revolution, it is essential to organize the broad masses of the people, to make the proletariat conscious of the unwavering leadership of its genuine Marxist-Leninist party, because otherwise it may become involved in adventurist actions and compromise the victory of the revolution. The communists and the oppressed masses of the people have to realize that imperialism and world capitalism have great experience in oppressing the masses, in organizing the counterrevolution. Therefore, the tactics and strategy of the enemies, too, must be understood and coped with, because our ideology, our policy, our strategy and tactics are more powerful than any enemy, for they serve a just cause, the cause of communism.” (Enver Hoxha, “Imperialism and Revolution”, last chapter: The defense of Marxism-Leninism – a major duty for all genuine revolutionaries, English edition)

The Hoxhaist state

The Hoxhaist theory of the state is basis of the experience gained during the existence of the state of the modern revisionists in power (the Hoxhaist state).

The revisionist states could indeed stop the construction of communism in the first Stalinist state with the help of world imperialism, however they failed to destroy socialism – Socialism in Albania proved to be stronger than revisionism at power. Thanks to Hoxhaism, the first period of socialism has been successfully continued - despite the revisionist disintegration of the Stalinist world camp.

That was the great world communist victory of a small and brave Hoxhaist state over the entire fractious world of revisionist states - including the Maoist state.

In particular the lessons of the Stalinist USSR, and of the Hoxhaist Albania, these are the historical foundations for the successful establishment of a new World Union of Socialist States.

Hoxhaism includes the special feature of demasking and struggle against the ideology of social-imperialist cosmopolitanism, includes the struggle against the revisionist betrayal at the interests of the socialist nations and against the co-operation of imperialism and social-imperialism for the purpose of defending capitalism against the socialist world revolution. The Hoxhaist state was a state which struggled against the whole state-system of the capitalist-revisionist world.

Enver Hoxha:

“We are against those revisionist theoreticians who preach that now the entire revolutionary struggle should be reduced to a struggle for national independence, to win and to defend this independence against the aggression of imperialist powers, while negating the struggle for social liberation. Only victory in this struggle guarantees genuine and complete national freedom, independence and sovereignty. (Enver Hoxha, Imperialism and Revolution, Second part, English version).

Stalinism-Hoxhaism is the global modification of the basic teachings of Marxism-Leninism on the state, thus in the period of globalization. It is scientific criticism of the state-system of world imperialism in the period of globalization, is the theory of its complete destruction by means of the socialist world revolution, the theory of its replacement through a world-socialist state-system and the theory of the abolishment of the inevitability of any state in regard of the world communist society.

Just as Stalinism was the theory of solving the national question on the example of the USSR, and just as Hoxhaism was the theory of solving the national question in Albania, today is Stalinism-Hoxhaism the doctrine of solving the national question in the world scale, the global solution of the national question through the world-revolutionary struggle for world socialism on the basis of proletarian internationalism.

The abolition of the state in the Balkans - that is only possible when all vestiges of Titoism and its capitalist misinterpretation of the "withering away of the state" have been overcome completely. And there are no better teachers of the struggle against Titoism than the two classics of Marxism-Leninism - Comrade Stalin with his best pupil at his side, Comrade Enver Hoxha!

What distinguishes the Stalinist state from the Hoxhaist state?

With this question we like to refer mainly to the comparison of both socialist states in the time before and after the seizure of the modern revisionists.

The Stalinist State was encircled by the capitalist world and was not yet confronted with revisionism in power (later on with the exception of Yugoslavia), not with the already restored capitalist states.

The Hoxhaist State was encircled by the whole capitalist-revisionist world, and thus faced with the pressure of various revisionist states and their alliances and co-operations with the Western imperialists.

This is certainly not the only difference, but one of the most essential. This means:

- 1. The Hoxhaist State was the only socialist state that has asserted itself successfully against the modern revisionists in power.**
- 2. The Hoxhaist state was the only state that prevented the restoration of capitalism in its own country.**
- 3. The Hoxhaist state was the only state which remained as the continuous basis and lever of world socialist revolution – after the betrayal of the revisionist world camp.**
- 4. The Hoxhaist State was the only reliable and anti-revisionist bulwark for the world proletariat, for the Marxist-Leninist comrades all over world and for the peoples who all struggled commonly for the overthrow of the whole capitalist-revisionist world.**

The Hoxhaist theory of the state is based on the profound experiences of the anti-revisionist victorious Albanian socialist state, is therefore of historic importance for the creative development and perfection of the dictatorship of the world proletariat, and thus an integral part of the general-line of the Comintern(SH).

The essence of the Hoxhaist State is to advance the revolution and to avoid the risk of re-development of the "peaceful" bourgeois-revisionist degeneration of the socialist state.

Enver Hoxha:

The socialist Albanian state is “always on guard, keeping the pick in one hand and the rifle in the other” (Enver Hoxha, Speech delivered at the Meeting of 81 Communist and Workers' Parties in Moscow on November 16, 1960) .

“The People's Socialist Republic of Albania is a state of the dictatorship of the proletariat, which expresses and defends the interests of all the working people. The People's Socialist Republic of Albania is based on the unity of the people round the Party of Labour of Albania and it has as its foundation the alliance of the working class with the cooperativist peasantry under the leadership of the working class.” (Article 2 of the Constitution of the PSRA).

The Albanian State was thus the first socialist state, which enshrined constitutionally the leading role of the Bolshevik Party within the state and society - and also Marxism-Leninism as the only ideology of the state.

“The People's Socialist Republic of Albania unceasingly develops the revolution by adhering to the class struggle and aims at ensuring the final victory of the socialist road over the capitalist road, at achieving the complete construction of socialism and communism.” (Article 4 of the Constitution)

The doctrine of Hoxhaist State is not only of great importance for our global struggle against the bourgeois-revisionist political system, but also for learning from the experience of the struggle against modern revisionism in socialist Albania. By means of the teachings of the 5 Classics of Marxism-Leninism, correctly applied to the anti-revisionist Foreign- and Security policy in Albania, great successes were achieved. Internal and external enemies could be defeated by the close unity of Party, State and People. There are many examples in history of the successful defence of Albania like that of the traitor Mehmet Shehu who was unmasked as an agent of foreign intelligence services.

However, there were also examples of defeats of the defence of the Albanian socialist state – especially after the death of comrade Enver Hoxha. Therefore it is urgently needed to analyse more thoroughly the background of the betrayal of Ramiz Alia who had paved the way to the restoration of capitalism, and who was a man of capitulation in face of the increasing pressure of the capitalist-revisionist world.

Nevertheless, Enver Hoxha created the very important lesson for the world proletariat, that the proletarian state can be victoriously restored on the ruins of the revisionist state - by means of the revolutionary overthrow of the revisionists in power. This doctrine applies not only nationally but also globally. Hoxhaism is therefore the creative advancement of the Marxist-Leninist theory of the state.

The doctrine of Hoxhaist State includes also the creative continuation of the teachings of Lenin and Stalin against bureaucracy and liberalism.

All these features characterize the Hoxhaist State as a State of a new Marxist-Leninist type which was developed in the struggle against modern revisionism, in the struggle against the degeneration of the socialist state apparatus.

Of particular importance is the connection of the direct control of workers and peasants with the control of the party and the state. This model must be implemented and perfected on a global scale. It is indispensable for the strengthening of the dictatorship of the world proletariat. On the one hand, it is needed as the best control between the affairs of the socialist nations and the world state and, on the other hand, necessary among the socialist countries themselves. All these three types of control are controls of the ruling classes, have proletarian character, and form a unit of co-operation. The one type of control can not be substituted through the other. And they can not be mutually excluded. We must always be wary that the control "from below" and "from above" are constantly in balance. In particular, the immediate and direct control of workers and peasants "from below" may not be transformed into an appendage of party control or state control. The control "from below" must always be sufficiently equipped with the needed authority and competence of the people. It goes without saying that, in the relationship between Marxist-Leninist party - the state - and masses, the proletariat and its party have a leading role. This is also valid for the system of control.

Without strengthening of the direct control of workers and peasants "from below", the socialist state can not wither away. There is no communism without the perfection of self-control and self-initiative "from below". The need of control in itself retains in a communist society - only the controls of classes disappear. All the party- and state controls are superfluous in communism.

In the epoch of world socialism, it is important to respect the laws of socialist control as a matter of strengthening the dictatorship of the world proletariat.

The direct workers' and peasants' control, the state control and party control - they are all to be brought into accord, and non-compliance has to be avoided, since, otherwise, they will become a dangerous factor for the restoration of capitalism. We all know that the socialist system of control can easily be transformed into a revisionist control, into a control of the bourgeoisie over the working class and all the other working people - if we would begin to deviate from the teachings of the 5 Classics of Marxism-Leninism.

Our task as communists is to do everything in our power to prevent the possible transformation of “servants” into “rulers” of the world-revolutionary state, to prevent the possibility of capitalist restoration in the epoch of world socialism. We shall always defend the Stalinist-Hoxhaist teachings of the socialist world state in our struggle against the world-revisionists.

In the future there will be an internationalist world society in its content and also in its multinational composition of inhabitants. The nations merge by globalization and there will come a time when the so-called "foreigners" will represent the majority in every country of the world - without exception. Both in form and content, the future world community will get a new higher quality which no longer is constricted and dominated by contradictions between oppressing and oppressed nations and nationalities (although certain differences will not disappear absolutely and completely as Stalin had remarked). We are internationalists and not nationalists, so we welcome and promote the objective, global tendency of the new classless world without national borders. Last not least, we consider the withering away of states also in relation to the withering away of xenophobia, racial hatred, chauvinism and nationalism. Comrade Lenin has taught us, we internationalists are: true humanists of deed and we shall pave the way of the globalization of mankind towards globalization of humaneness in the spirit of the 5 Classics of Marxism-Leninism.

People are only there free where humanity, itself, is moving freely. And humaneness gets free only in a free world. Under capitalism, humaneness itself, can not move freely because people are chained to the capitalist slavery. Among all societies of mankind, communism is the society with the highest stage of humaneness.

Hoxhaism and war

Hoxhaism is Marxism-Leninism of the transition of the anti-fascist liberation war into the victory of the anti-imperialist people's revolution, it's further transition into the armed socialist revolution which led to the overthrow of the own bourgeoisie and which made it possible to construct socialism on the outer conditions of the Great Patriotic War and the socialist world camp of Comrade Stalin;

Hoxhaism – in the question of war and revolution - is furthermore the Marxist-Leninist theory and tactics of the armed anti-revisionist, anti-imperialist and antisocial-imperialist struggle in the period of revisionism at the power, in general, and the theory and tactics of the national defense of the dictatorship of the proletariat under conditions of the military capitalist-revisionist encirclement, in particular.

What is Stalinism - Hoxhaism – in the question of war and revolution - today ?

Stalinism-Hoxhaism - in the question of war and revolution - is the Marxist-Leninist theory and tactics of the victory over the imperialist wars by means of the world proletarian revolution under today's conditions of globalization, in general; and the theory and tactics of the armament and military world defense of the dictatorship of the world proletariat, in particular; it is – last not least - the theory and tactics of the transition to the weaponless, peaceful and classless society on a global scale – to world communism.

Stalinism-Hoxhaism is the doctrine of the liberation of the wars of world imperialism, is the doctrine of the abolition of the inevitability of world imperialist war, is the doctrine of world-proletarian class war for the final liberation from the violent rule of the world-bourgeoisie, is the doctrine of the victory of socialism over the imperialist war on a global scale, is the doctrine of the military protection of the global domination of the proletariat.

What is Hoxhaism in the question of war and revolution?

Enver Hoxha emphasized in his speech - delivered at the Meeting of 81 Communist and Workers' Parties in Moscow on November 16, 1960:

“... that there can be an absolute guarantee of the prohibition of war only when socialism has triumphed throughout the world or, at least, in a number of other great imperialist countries” (page 138, English edition, Tirana 1969).

It is a cornerstone of Stalinism-Hoxhaism that the world revolutionary weapons of the proletariat will be indispensable for world peace and for the fulfillment of its mission of peaceful world communism. Postulations of the prematurely “withering of the war” and “lasting” peace in midst of the international arena of wars in the world's class society, means nothing more than to disarm the world proletariat, to betray the socialist world revolution and the peace-loving peoples. Our Marxist-Leninist theory of “war and revolution” (namely that the complete destruction of world imperialism is absolutely precondition for the abolition of the inevitability of imperialist wars) was and is still openly and hiddenly attacked by all the lackeys of the world bourgeoisie. That's why we need to defend Marxism-Leninism unconditionally in word and deed, with weapons and without weapons.

The pacifist slogan of the “disarmament and abolition of weapons” - even before the period of Communism - is a petty bourgeois anarchistic slogan, because the petty bourgeoisie feels threatened and oppressed, by both the weapons of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. Pacifism is the other side of the coin – is an ideological tool for the hidden preparation of the next predatory wars of the world bourgeoisie. To proclaim the withering away of the weapons, prematurely, would distort the historical perspective of world communism. The abolition of classes is not achieved by direct and premature disarmament of proletarian weapons, by the extinction of armed class war, but by its intensification. The intensification (but not to fuel the flames artificially) of revolutionary wars is indispensable for the withering of wars. Proletarian weapons will not remain if the capitalist world is liquidated and the socialist world takes its place, if the danger of the restoration of capitalism is avoided, if the last remnants of the dying classes, the fragments of counter-revolutionary elements, have lost all soil for a revival of their armed activities. The radical economic changes (harmonization of the relationship between productive forces and relations of production) are the material basis of the abolition of imperialist wars, the material basis of the peaceful, classless, communist world society.

Let's stand up for the glorious Hoxhaist banner of the anti-imperialist war !

Based on the correct general-line of Stalin and the Comintern, the PLA developed its own victorious strategy and tactics of the anti-imperialist war, applied to the particular conditions of the country. In the period of fascist occupation the general-line of the Communist Party of Albania was: "National liberation of Albanian from fascism !"

The armed uprising against fascism was the only real and reliable political line. The establishment of the National Liberation Army was the main chain link of the armed struggle. Without a real people's army which would be able to attack the enemy relentlessly, and to destroy its military and political apparatus - the armed uprising would be unthinkable - the country could not be liberated - the independence could not be achieved - and a people's democratic government could not be built. The National Liberation Army emerged from the rapid development of guerrilla warfare, and was organized and guided by the CPA with Enver Hoxha at the head.

The army is the weapon of the dictatorship which must always stand ready on the correct Marxist-Leninist road, extremely vigilant against internal and external enemies. The army must always be politically clear, and in order to be politically clear, the party organization in the army must be pure, at a high political and ideological level, and must understand and apply everything, looking at it from this angle alone, the angle of Marxism-Leninism, the angle of the interests of the people and the party. Therefore, it is also essential that the cadres of the army must be loyal to the party, to Marxism-Leninism and the people. In this way alone, the enemy can do nothing, it cannot exist in the army, even if it has some influence, and in this way alone, the army remains truly a weapon of the dictatorship of the proletariat in the hands of the party.

(Enver Hoxha, Reflectios on China I, Hanuary 15, 1967)

On specific condition of Albania, the armed uprising was not a single, nonrecurring outbreak, but took place in form of an ongoing, relentless, armed people's resistance. The Albanian National Liberation struggle was part of the anti-fascist World War II, based on the military alliance of the anti-fascist coalition. In this anti-fascist coalition, the Soviet Union of Stalin played an international leading role, and the liberation movements of other Balkan peoples played also a significant role, especially their cooperation against the common enemy. The key external factor of the historic victory of the Albanian people was, of course, the Great Patriotic War of the Soviet Union and its great victory over fascism. The glorious Red Army created excellent conditions with its victory over Nazi-Germany that the Albanian people got up as one man, so that Albania achieved full national independence by its heroic struggle, and established the People's Power.

The National Liberation Councils who were formed in the process of the liberation struggle, represented the democratic dictatorship of the revolutionary forces, both in content of classes and according to their tasks - and under the direct and sole guidance of the Communist Party. The victory of the people's revolution led to the complete liberation from fascism in Albania on November 29, 1944. The working class played the leading role in the national liberation struggle. The working class implemented its leading role through the CPA which was the inspirer, organizer and leader of the victorious Anti-Fascist National Liberation struggle. Already before the end of the liberation war, the political power was in the hands of the CPA. The peasantry was the main source and main armed force of the national liberation struggle, the most solid ally of the working class and the CPA. With the struggle for the reconstruction of war-torn country, the Albanian working class under the leadership of the CPA moved forward to the victorious socialist revolution. Finally, this was the way, how Albania has successfully transformed the anti-imperialist war into the socialist revolution and construction of socialism.

Enver Hoxha:

"If the imperialist war of aggression can not be prevented, it will be the task of the revolutionists and the proletariat, to transform it into a war of liberation."

And, indeed, the Albanian people and the Albanian Communists opposed courageously the Nazi-occupiers and their lackeys in Albania, and then they transformed the imperialist war successfully into a revolutionary war of liberation.

Not only were the armies of fascism routed on the battlefield, but the anti-communist ideology of world imperialism and the counterrevolutionary policy of international opportunism were defeated, too.

The special meaning of the Albanian anti-fascist and anti-imperialist war consisted in this that it took place within the framework of a national liberation war, whereas it was internationalist in terms of content and character - because the Communist party has played the key role within this war. In regard of the globalized conditions of today, it is the Communist International who will assume increasingly the role of the leader of the antifascist-anti-imperialist war.

In the question of war and peace, Hoxhaism teaches to support the peoples, the proletarians of all countries, the revolutionaries, in their revolutionary struggle against the war – in the spirit of proletarian internationalism. Above all, Hoxhaism was the ideological weapon against the wars of the two superpowers and the local monopoly bourgeoisie, who supported their war. Hoxhaism ascertained that the same political, economic and social causes that have led to the outbreak of the former imperialist wars further exist in their entirety. However, the imperialist competition and rivalry at the world markets and the plundering of nations increased even more,

first, by the restoration of the economy of the imperialist and capitalist countries which were destroyed during the Second World War - (especially with the help of U.S. imperialism) - and

second, through arrival in power of revisionism and the restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union. This has led to a second center of imperialism, to aggression and international counter-revolution - and a new, dangerous hotbed of global contradictions and tensions arose.

Enver Hoxha:

When the superpowers fail to achieve their predatory interests through economic, ideological and diplomatic means, when the contradictions become exacerbated to the most acute level, when the agreements and reforms. prove unable to resolve these contradictions, then the war between them begins.

„The imperialist superpowers (...) will remain imperialist and warmongering, and if not today, tomorrow they will plunge the world into a great nuclear war.“ (Enver Hoxha: „Imperialism and Revolution“, English edition).

"The superpowers are the main enemy of socialism, freedom and independence of nations - individually or jointly to the same extent and at the same level -, they are the largest force in defense of the systems of oppressors and exploiters. The danger of a third world war mainly emanates from them." (Enver Hoxha: „Report to the VII. Party Congress“, English edition).

Hoxhaism fought against both who prepared the war - the United States and the Soviet Union - , against both NATO and the Warsaw Treaty as the two rival aggressive instruments of war. The PLA united all the factors that opposed the imperialist powers and their preparations for war. The PLA tried to isolate the superpowers as far as possible, and made use of the inter-imperialist contradictions in favor of the revolution and the liberation of the peoples.

Hoxhaism was against the views of the modern revisionists who rejected the necessity of the revolutionary and national liberation in the struggle for the prevention of a war. The modern revisionists favored the reconciliation of classes, made concessions to the enemies and surrendered to them. In particular, the PLA disagreed with the Chinese revisionists, who planted doubts in the strong forces of socialism, the world proletariat and the peoples. Allegedly, these forces would be unable to prevent a world war. The PLA applied to the Stalinist theory that the world proletariat and the peoples of the world can prevent the aggressive world war by all means. They are absolutely strong enough to prevent the imperialists and social imperialists from putting the world on fire.

In its revolutionary struggle against the war, the proletariat, whose leadership is unchallenged, relies on the anti-imperialist struggle of the oppressed and exploited peoples. That was always the Leninist revolutionary attitude of the PLA.

The VII. Party Congress of the PLA argued unconditionally for the support of the peoples and their liberation wars. Comrade Enver Hoxha emphasized:

“With all their great power and wealth, with all their modern means of warfare, the superpowers are not able to subjugate the peoples and countries, even small ones, if the latter are determined to fight to the end and make any sacrifice. It confirmed the thesis that freedom and independence are won and defended with the gun, through struggle, that the strategy of the national liberation people's war is a strategy that ensures victory.

“The proletariat, all those who are for the revolution and socialism, must closely link their struggle with the struggle of the peoples for freedom and independence. This can be done only by resolutely struggling against the bourgeoisie of one's own country, by struggling against imperialism and predatory war. This is also the most effective and direct aid the proletariat can give the liberation movement of the peoples.”

“The People's Republic of Albania does not accept and publicly exposes the so-called theory about the need to preserve the «balance between the superpowers» as a condition or a basis to avoid war and defend peace.”

“Our Party upholds the thesis that both when the superpowers work together and when they quarrel, it is others who pay the bill. The collusion and rivalry between the superpowers are the two sides of the one contradictory reality, important expressions of the same imperialist strategy, to rob the peoples of their freedom and to dominate the world. They pose the same danger, therefore the two superpowers are the main and greatest enemies of the peoples. That is why one must never rely on one imperialism to fight or escape from the other.”

“We must base ourselves on the mobilization and strength of the peoples, on the unity of all those who want to throw off the imperialist-revisionist yoke. We stand for the unity of the world proletariat and all the true anti-imperialist and progress-loving forces who, through their struggle, will smash the aggressive plans of the imperialist and social-imperialist war-mongers.

Consistent in their Marxist-Leninist line, the Party of Labour of Albania and the Albanian people have been and are against the two superpowers, against predatory imperialist war, against the monopoly bourgeoisie and international reaction. Therefore, in the future, too, they will spare no effort and will fight, together with all the other anti-imperialist and anti-social-imperialist peoples, with all the Marxist-Leninist parties, all the revolutionaries and the world proletariat, all progressive people, to foil the plans and manoeuvrings of the enemies and ensure the triumph of the cause of the freedom and security of the peoples.

At every moment our country will be found standing beside all those peoples whose freedom and independence are threatened and whose rights are violated. We have repeatedly declared this stand, and not just in good times, but in dangerous times as well ; the peoples of the world can be sure that socialist Albania is with them and fears no sacrifice.” (Enver Hoxha, Report to the VII. Party Congress of the PLA, chapter V: “The international situation and the foreign policy of the PRA”; English edition, Tirana 1976)

We must not underestimate, the fear of war which big capital has created. It is a fact that time after time, when the crisis reaches its climax, partial wars, and perhaps even world war, could break out. Only the revolution on the Marxist-Leninist road can prevent, avert, or defeat world war. Otherwise, the major contradictions that exist between the superpowers, between multinational companies may cause it. Therefore, since we understand this important problem in this way, we must make every effort to defeat the plans and actions which the bourgeoisie and its lackeys are making in preparation for a bloody, general war. This can be an insurrection which is led only by the working class which has the Marxist-Leninist doctrine as its guide.

The Comintern (SH) defends unconditionally this correct Hoxhaist anti-imperialist line also in regard against the social-imperialist China - the new superpower of today.

The Chinese revisionists - the Maoists - began systematically to replace the Soviet social-imperialist superpower with support of the US-imperialism. The Maoists tried to justify their social-imperialist and social-fascist ambitions of world domination with Marxist-Leninist phraseology. Albania refused to do the Maoists' dirty work and proceeded in the principled Marxist-Leninist struggle against both the superpowers, USA and USSR. Later on, also the Chinese revisionists dropped their "peace" mask and reared their ugly, social-imperialist head. The Maoists created their so called "Three-World-Theory", to deceive the socialist Albania, to deceive the Marxist-Leninist world movement, the world proletariat and the peace-loving peoples. The Maoists needed their "Three-World-Theory" for the implementation of their aggressive, warmongering plans.

With the defeat of the socialist Albania - the last socialist bastion - , the conditions for the strategy and tactics of the struggle against imperialist war have changed fundamentally. There is no socialist country any more against which the imperialists could wage a war. The socialist countries as the strongest bulwark for world peace do not exist any more. This means:

firstly: Without the presence of socialist countries, the world imperialists uninhibitedly wage their wars a lot easier.

secondly: Without the presence of a socialist country, the world-imperialist, counterrevolutionary forces crack down on the communist world movement a lot easier.

thirdly: Without the presence of socialist countries, the world-imperialists crush down the liberation wars of the peoples a lot easier.

And we take it also for granted that the social-fascist states and their international revisionist front of lackeys is on the side of the world-imperialists, in the struggle against the world proletariat and the peoples. Thus, the Albanian revisionists restored not only capitalism, moreover they have forced the membership of NATO upon the Albanian people, and it was especially Nexhmije Hoxha, the wife of comrade Enver Hoxha, who has advocated for the membership in the NATO.

With the collapse of socialist Albania, the world bourgeoisie has robbed all the material weapons of the world proletariat for its defense of world peace. Now, the enemies of the global working class have all the global armed forces in their sole hands.

What we need, is a new center against the preparation of the threatening imperialist world war, a new anti-imperialist world-bulwark, a new Communist world-front against the imperialist war - guided by the Communist International.

There is no restoration of socialism without the restoration of material socialist weapons.

What we need is the global formation of the Red Army of the world proletariat for solving the question of war and peace on a global scale.

The imperialist weapons by which the imperialist world suppresses the world proletariat and the peoples of the world must be transformed into weapons of the world revolutionary liberation !

Hoxhaism and the Marxist-Leninist World Movement

Comrade Enver Hoxha, and the socialist Albania, as the world center, formed the Marxist-Leninist world movement
- by educating the young and inexperienced new Marxist-Leninist parties in their liberation struggle from the revisionist world movement;
by helping them to become independent Marxist-Leninist parties, ideologically, politically and organisationally;
- by bilateral and multi lateral consultations, discussions, exchange of experiences;
- by joint, coordinated actions; etc.

Enver Hoxha equipped the young Marxist-Leninist world movement with the old Bolshevik spirit of the Comintern of Lenin and Stalin. This revival of the old world-revolutionary spirit of the Comintern - initiated by comrade Enver Hoxha - supported us in our decision for the re-founding of the Comintern. Everything that comrade Enver Hoxha did and thought, served the goal of improving the cooperation between the Marxist-Leninist parties and the leading center of the socialist world revolution - the socialist Albania. The historical model for this new international, anti-revisionist relationship among the Marxist-Leninist parties, in general, and the relationship between socialist Albania and the Marxist-Leninist World Movement, in particular, this was the relationship between the Communist International and the Bolshevik Party of Lenin and Stalin and the Soviet Union.

"The Comintern, the Communist Third International, which Lenin and Stalin led, advised the Albanian communists to find the right road of the struggle, that road which the Marxist-Leninist ideology showed them. It taught them to link themselves with the working class, to go among the masses of the working people, to gain strength from them, like Antaeus, and in the appropriate concrete conditions, to create their communist party. Precisely because we followed this road, we Albanian communists triumphed."

Things reached the point that the revisionist leaders of many communist and workers' parties had to adopt revisionist positions openly and fight us actively. This must be considered a great victory achieved, a victory which must be carried further. This caused many communist elements to break with the revisionist leaderships, many were expelled from parties dominated by the revisionists, and created new Marxist-Leninist parties, and this process is continuing.

This must be considered another major victory, a victory which likewise must be carried further. Our resolute struggle, the exposure of modern revisionists, the defeats which they have suffered and are suffering every day in all fields of national and international activity, have led to the outburst and deepening of the contradictions in the ranks of the modern revisionists.

We must consider these contradictions, which are becoming deeper, great victories for revolutionary Marxism-Leninism in action.

Even in this situation our struggle against all revisionist groupings not only must not be toned down, but must be made more severe. (Enver Hoxha, Reflections on China I, 6 October 1964)

Enver Hoxha defended this Leninist-Stalinist doctrine and developed it further. Although the socialist camp of Stalin was defeated by the modern revisionists , he re-built the Marxist-Leninist world movement in its fight against the entire capitalist-revisionist world. He promoted the creation of new chain links of the world socialist revolution with the basis and lever of Socialist Albania:

“THE WORLD COMMUNISM OF THE PRESENT MUST BE MARKED BY A REVOLUTIONARY MILITANT SPIRIT OF THE HEROIC TIMES OF LENIN AND STALIN AND THE COMINTERN” [ENVER HOXHA].

What is actually the meaning of this term - "militant spirit" ? Revival of the militant spirit of the Comintern - this means nothing else but preparing the rebuilding of the Comintern, indeed. For us, who we are the true dialectical and historical materialists, there is no "militant spirit of the Comintern" on cloud nine or anywhere else. The real renaissance of the militant spirit of the Comintern can only be achieved by preparing the reconstruction of the Comintern itself. Any other interpretation of Hoxhaism is a deviation from Hoxhaism – is Anti-Hoxhaism. Not we Stalinist-Hoxhaists distort the teachings of Enver Hoxha about the necessity of the continuation of the world-revolutionary ideas of the Comintern, but the neo-revisionists. "Defending" the revolutionary spirit of the Comintern in words - however betraying it in deeds - that is the true attitude of the neo-revisionist traitors.

If we really want to fight for the victory of world communism - then we need urgently a new Comintern, which is built in the militant spirit of the old Communist International of Lenin and Stalin.

A new world party which combines the implementation of the experiences and teachings of the Bolshevik Party of Lenin and Stalin and the Party of Labour of comrade Enver Hoxha. The Stalinist-Hoxhaist Party of the socialist world revolution.

Enver Hoxha:

"The Marxist-Leninist parties in capitalist countries are therefore obliged to work and fight constantly for the weakening of the international monopoly capital, to put it in a flurry. Thus, also the multinationals who oppress and exploit the peoples. In such a way that the people can break the weakest link in the capitalist chain, ie to rise an insurgency, to seize power and carry out democratic reforms and also to establish the dictatorship of the proletariat, the socialist base, and a socialist superstructure " (Enver Hoxha, Oeuvres choisies, Volume 5, pages 757-781, translation from the French edition).

Enver Hoxha:

“All communists, all proletarians, all the revolutionary forces in the various countries are duty bound to assist the revolution in each particular country and all over the world, through propaganda, agitation, material aid, the example of their determination and selflessness, and by faithful adherence to Marxism-Leninism” (Enver Hoxha, “Imperialism and Revolution”, April 1978, English edition).

Every revolutionary activity must be guided by the Marxist-Leninist revolutionary theory which the Marxist-Leninist party masters, defends and faithfully applies. The objective of every genuine revolutionary movement must be to establish the hegemony of the working class. This hegemony does not in any way imply that the working class and its Marxist-Leninist party should not link up with all those classes and strata of the population which are very interested in opposing the oppressive capitalist and revisionist order. On the contrary, the hegemony of the working class presupposes alliance with the working peasantry, the progressive intellectuals, etc.

The tasks which emerge for us Marxist-Leninists in these situations are certainly very great and very difficult, because our enemies are numerous, highly organized and very powerful. These tasks become still greater and more difficult for the Marxist-Leninist parties which militate in the capitalist countries. But profound and correct understanding of Marxism-Leninism, that unerring guide which leads and directs us in every step of our life and ideological line, as well as in the organizational field, the effective co-ordination of illegal with legal activity, the selection of reliable allies and alliances, etc. will make our struggle and the overcoming of difficulties easier and will lead us to victory over the bourgeois-revisionist enemies.

“At its 7th Congress, our Party exposed all the different revisionist currents, including the Chinese theory of “three worlds”. Stressing the vital importance of Marxism-Leninism for the triumph of the revolution, socialism and the liberation of the peoples, it resolutely rejected the bourgeois-opportunist theses and views on the present stage of the world historical process, which repudiate the revolution and defend capitalist exploitation, and emphasized strongly that no change in the evolution of capitalism and imperialism justifies the revisionist “inventions” and fabrications. Principled criticism and ceaseless exposure of the anti-revolutionary and anti-communist theories are absolutely necessary to defend Marxism-Leninism, to carry forward the cause of the revolution and the peoples, to demonstrate that the theory of Marx Engels, Lenin and Stalin is always young, and remains the unerring guide to future victories.”

When you have created the conditions and have struggled to create these conditions, the primary necessity, the main subjective factor and the guarantee of success in the revolution is the formation of the Marxist-Leninist party. No one else apart from the Marxist-Leninists of each particular country can judge whether the conditions for the creation of the Marxist-Leninist party are ripened. Every success and every defeat depends on the correct or incorrect judgment of the internal situations by the Marxist-Leninists, depends on their level of maturity and the degree of their revolutionization, depends on the general line which they adopt and which must be guided by Marxism-Leninism, depends, also, on the external factors and on the all-round internationalist aid of Marxist-Leninist parties which are in power or those which are not in power but take a firm Marxism-Leninist stand.(Reflections on China, I, page 220)

The task of our Party, and of all the genuine communists of the world, is to fight with dedication to defend our Marxist-Leninist theory and cleanse it of all the distortions which the bourgeoisie, the modern revisionists and all opportunists and traitors make of it.

Hoxhaism and the Marxist-Leninist Party

Comrade Enver Hoxha is the founder of the PLA and has led it from the time it was formed through all the historical stages of the revolution.

He has made the greatest contribution to working out its Marxist-Leninist revolutionary line. With his wisdom, determination, foresight and revolutionary courage, Comrade Enver Hoxha has ensured the consistent, revolutionary implementation of the Marxist-Leninist line and norms of the Party, has never allowed it to be diverted on to blind alleys and has brought it triumphant through all the difficult and complicated situations. In his works, Comrade

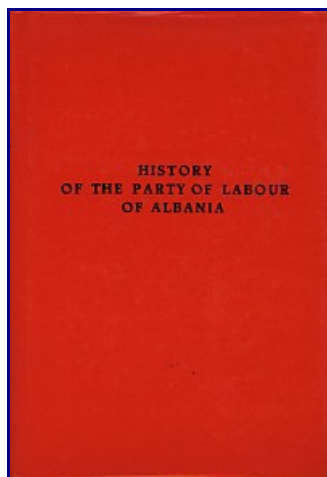
Enver Hoxha has made a Marxist-Leninist theoretical summing-up of the revolutionary experience of the PLA, thus making an invaluable contribution to the treasury of Marxism-Leninism. Enver Hoxha is the most beloved teacher and leader of the whole Albanian people, united in steel-like unity around the Party and its Central Committee. (*"History of the Party of Labour of Albania"*)

Hoxhaism is the further development of the teachings of the Bolshevik Party.

This is the central significance of Hoxhaism. The glorious history of the Party of Labour proofs excellently the invincibility of Hoxhaism.

Nobody can better summarize the teachings of the Party of Labour of Albania than Comrade Enver Hoxha himself. Therefore we publish here the full text of the "Conclusions" of the *"History of the Party of Labour of Albania"*:

HISTORY OF THE PARTY OF LABOUR OF ALBANIA



GENERAL CONCLUSIONS

The History of the Party of Labour of Albania contains a great wealth of experience of the struggle for the creative and resolute application of Marxism-Leninism to ensure national and social liberation and build socialism.

Summing up this experience the following main general conclusions emerge:

1.

The Party of Labour of Albania was founded by the Albanian communists, headed by Comrade Enver Hoxha, on the basis of the communist and worker movement in the country.

It arose as a historical necessity to lead the struggle for the national and social liberation of the people.

The PLA was formed by the amalgamation of the Albanian communist groups in a revolutionary working class party on the basis of the organizational and ideological principles of Marxism-Leninism. The amalgamation was achieved in the common struggle of communists of various groups against the enemies of the people, against pseudo-Marxist political trends and organizations, against alien viewpoints in the ranks of the groups themselves, by putting the general interests of the communist movement above the narrow interests of the groups. The amalgamation was cemented with the working out and acceptance of a single general line constructed on scientific Marxist-Leninist foundations.

The PLA was formed in the conditions of a backward agricultural country. The creation of the Marxist-Leninist Party of the Albanian working class was not hindered by the fact that this class was small in numbers, scattered, unformed as an industrial proletariat, and had not achieved a high level of organizational and political maturity. Besides the working class movement, the movement of the school youth served as a powerful support for the formation of the Party. The secondary school youth and the majority of the Albanian university students were among the first to embrace communist ideas and stood in the forefront of the anti-fascist democratic movement.

Under the leadership of the communists, supported and inspired by the working class, they became the bearers of the ideas of Marxism-Leninism and militant patriotism among the masses of the people, thus playing an important role in the founding of the Party and the propagation of its revolutionary line.

The PLA was the first party of the Albanian working class and has always remained its only party.

2.

The triumph of the people's revolution and the construction of the economic base of socialism were achieved under the leadership of the working class. The complete construction of socialist society, likewise, is being carried out under its leadership.

The Albanian working class carried out this historic mission by means of the Party of Labour of Albania, a proletarian revolutionary party from the viewpoint of the theory which guides it, the organizational principles upon which it is built, and its political program.

The Party of Labour of Albania has always preserved intact its proletarian character and has faithfully realized the leadership of the working class at all stages and in all fields of the life of the country.

The Party has educated the leading cadres and all the communists, even those who do not come from the working class, with the proletarian ideology, with the spirit of loyalty to the cause of the proletariat and socialism.

By means of its own Party, the Albanian working class has been able to overcome all the obstacles to carrying out its leading role which resulted from the backward agricultural and semi-feudal situation of the country, from its still incomplete development as a class, from the low ideological, technical and cultural level in the period of the Anti-fascist National Liberation War and in the first post-Liberation years.

In the period of the construction of socialism it has increased in numbers, has been formed as a new industrial working class, developed from the technical and cultural points of view, gained great political and ideological tempering and maturity and achieved a high level of organization. This has further strengthened its role as the leader of the entire life of the country and the organizer of the construction of socialism and communism.

With the radical changes in the class structure, with the growth and tempering of the working class, the Party has been increased and strengthened with the finest members from the ranks of this class. Since the year 1970, members from the working class have comprised the biggest group in the total membership of the Party.

3.

The PLA has been able to play the leading role in the revolution and the socialist construction of the country because it has worked out and consistently applied a revolutionary general line.

This line has always responded to the political, economic, social and cultural demands of the masses, to the fundamental interests of the people and the Homeland, and to the interests of socialism on both the national and international levels.

In working out its political line, the PLA has always been guided by the principles of Marxism-Leninism and the objective laws of the revolution and socialism from which these principles derive. It has applied the Marxist-Leninist principles in a creative way; to this end it has based itself firmly on analysis of the concrete social conditions of the country and the ratio of class forces within the country. It has also learned and profited from the experience of the sister parties and the international communist movement, but it has not copied this experience or used it mechanically. It has always been clear that the Marxist-Leninist principles and the revolutionary experience of the other sister communist parties cannot provide it with its own complete, political ready-made line. To work out this line, it is necessary for the party of the working class to rely on its own great experience which is gained in revolutionary practice. For this reason, at the beginning of each historical stage, the PLA has been able to lay only the basis of its own general line, and has enriched and completed it later in the practice of the revolution and the socialist construction.

It is in revolutionary practice also that the correctness of the political line of the Party has been verified. In order to keep this line always correct and revolutionary, the PLA has never hesitated to make corrections on all occasions when the objective national and international conditions have changed, when specific decisions have been proved incorrect by practice, when life has shown that forms and methods borrowed from abroad have been inappropriate to the national reality. It has corrected mistakes in good time and not allowed them to become consolidated and incurable, and has not permitted the development of opposite

lines and anti-party trends.

The working out and the application of the line of the Party have always been characterized by adherence to proletarian principles. In defining and accomplishing any task and solving any problem, in all its stands and actions, the Party has viewed and judged the various phenomena and events from the proletarian class standpoint.

Its adherence to proletarian principles has been the main factor that has enabled the PLA to define the objective and programmatic tasks of each stage of the revolution correctly, to avoid falling into opportunism, sectarianism, pragmatism and subjectivism, to grasp more readily which is the key issue in a series of problems, to always have its perspective clear, to find its bearings better in the complicated internal and external circumstances, to foil the interference of the various revisionists in its internal affairs, to work out and apply its own, independent, Marxist-Leninist internal and foreign policy.

4.

The policy of self-reliance, which the Party has applied continuously and persistently ever since its founding, in particular is an expression of its adherence to proletarian principles.

This revolutionary policy has its roots in the great Marxist- Leninist principle that the internal factor is the determining one, while the external factor is auxiliary. Guided by this policy of the Party, the Albanian people did not beg freedom and independence from imperialist rulers and internal enemies, nor did they wait for others from abroad to bring them these things. Likewise, they have never made the construction of socialist society, the development of the economy and culture, or the defence of the victories of the revolution, dependent on foreign aid.

The principle of self-reliance found its embodiment during the Anti-fascist National Liberation War in the slogan of the Party. «Freedom is not donated, but is won with bloodshed and sacrifice!» After the war, it was expressed in the determination of the people to build socialism in any circumstances and under any conditions, by mobilizing all the internal human, material and financial forces, means and resources.

The experience of the revolutionary struggle of the Albanian people, led by the Party, proves that the resolute implementation of the policy of self-reliance ensures true political and economic independence and the construction of socialist society on solid foundations and protects the independence of the country and the socialist system from the many dangers which threaten them.

While relying on its own forces and considering the internal factor as the decisive one, the Party has never underestimated the external factor, the support of the proletariat and all the progressive and freedom-loving forces in the world. This support has been always powerful both during the National Liberation War and after Liberation. It is because of the principled policy it follows, the heroic struggle of the Albanian people for freedom, independence and socialism, and their determination to defend them, that Albania has won the support of the revolutionary forces abroad. The more a people are capable of winning and defending freedom and independence, and building socialism with their own forces, the greater is the support from the revolutionary, progressive and freedom-loving forces abroad.

5.

The PLA has always been able to apply its correct political line, because this line has been embraced by the masses of the people, has become their line, and the masses, together with the Party and under its leadership, have striven with all their might to put it into practice.

This has been achieved because the masses have been convinced of the correctness of the line of the Party and its ability to apply this line.

In convincing the masses, in making them fully understand that the line of the Party responds to their demands and interests, in establishing strong and durable links with them and in mobilizing them in struggle and work, the practical revolutionary activity of the Party and of the masses of the people under the leadership of the Party has played a decisive role.

A reliable weapon in this activity has been the concrete, tangible, clear and militant agitation and propaganda, the wide-ranging, differentiated, political and ideological work in many forms.

Parallel with the work of agitation and propaganda, the Party has always followed the principle: words must be matched with deeds. The educational and explanatory work of the Party has always been associated with its revolutionary action, with the personal example of the communists. This has brought about that the masses have become convinced of the correctness of the political line of the Party from their own experience.

For every decision it has taken and in every step of its activity, the Party has consulted the masses, has encouraged the criticism and the free expression of the opinion of the masses, has listened carefully to their demands and proposals, has always kept in mind the role of the people as the makers of history, the great principle that the revolution is the work of the masses, that socialism is built and defended by the masses, while the Party of the working class makes them conscious.

The links between the Party and the masses have been built on sound organizational foundations. Only links with the organized masses are true and durable links. The PLA has set up various social organizations of the masses as links which connect the Party with the masses, as powerful levers to put into practice the political line of the Party, to realize its revolutionary leadership. The programs and activity of these organizations have always been based on the policy of the Party.

A very important aspect of the revolutionary practice of the Party to maintain and to strengthen its links with the masses, to project the Party itself and ensure that it will not be destroyed by the attacks of the class enemies, is its courage and revolutionary stands in the face of the many difficulties it has encountered on its way. The Party has always prepared itself and the masses of the people to cope with the most difficult and complicated situations which inevitably arise in the course of the revolution. Consequently, it has never been taken by surprise in the grave situations created by the enemies. In these situations, the Party has not lost its head, has not been seized by panic or fallen into pessimism or inaction, has not lost its faith in its own forces or those of the people. It has not been cast into despair because of the losses inflicted by the enemies' attacks. At all critical moments, the Party has acted with wisdom, maturity and courage, has told the masses the truth about the situation, has appealed to them, has relied firmly on them, and has always emerged triumphant.

In difficult situations the Party has manoeuvred with flexibility, but has never lost

sight of its strategic objective and tasks.

In such situations the durability of the links of the Party with the people has been tested and these links have been further cemented.

6.

The PLA has ensured the uninterrupted development of the revolution.

This revolution has passed through three main stages: the anti-imperialist democratic stage of winning national independence and the establishment of the people's state power; the stage of the construction of the bases of socialism; the stage of the complete construction of socialist society, which is in progress. The three stages have developed, not only without interruption, but also interwoven with one another. One stage has prepared the premises for the next stage. In the course of the revolution in Albania there have been no big retreats or zigzags, because there have been no ebbs caused by objective conditions and because the PLA, the leader of the revolution, has always followed a correct Marxist-Leninist line.

Among the many political, economic and ideological tasks of the revolution at a given period, the PLA has brought to the fore one or the other fundamental task, according to the concrete social conditions and the problems which had to be solved, but it has always kept in mind that only the uninterrupted development of the socialist revolution in all fields, in the entire mode of production and the superstructure, ensures the steady advance towards communist society.

The PLA has ensured the victory of the revolution, in the first place, through the revolutionary solution of three key issues: the uniting of the masses of the people in a single front around the Party; the organization of the armed uprising to overthrow the old state power, the creation of the people's armed forces and the all-round preparation of the people for the defence of the victories; the establishment and ceaseless perfecting of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

7.

The unity of the people around the Party is embodied in the Democratic Front (the direct continuation of the National Liberation Front).

By means of the Front, the Party succeeded in uniting the classes, strata, the separate groups and elements — allies of the working class, at the various stages of the revolution, in one big political organization. By means of the Front, it was made possible that none of these allies remained outside the influence of the proletarian policy and the leadership of the Party.

The Front provided the broadest political support for the Party and the people's state power.

The Democratic Front was established as, and always remained, a voluntary union of the masses of the people from below, and not a coalition of political parties.

At all stages, it has been based on the alliance of the working class with the working peasantry under the leadership of the working class. Its broadest base has been the

working peasantry.

The Party of Labour of Albania has always been the sole leading force of the Front and the only political party in it.

In Albania there have been no real bourgeois political parties and none were formed even after the founding of the Communist Party of Albania. The CPA was not opposed to the setting up of other anti-fascist parties, or against collaboration with them in the cause of waging the war against the occupiers, had such parties been formed.

But it fought and destroyed such political organizations as Balli Kombëtar and Legaliteti which were set up by the big landowners and the reactionary bourgeoisie with the encouragement and support of the Italian and German occupiers, and which tried to destroy the Party and the Front and to prevent the triumph of the people's revolution. The Party also wiped out the attempts which were made after the war by bourgeois and landowner elements, with the encouragement and support of the US and British imperialists, to create reactionary political parties as weapons for the overthrow of the people's state power.

The historical fact that, besides the PLA, there have been no other political parties in the country, has been very advantageous to the working class, the people, the revolution and socialism in Albania. This has assisted the Party to carry out its leading role as the party of the working class better and more easily in all the stages of the revolution.

The PLA's being the only political party in the country facilitated the exercise of socialist democracy for the masses of the working people after the triumph of the people's revolution.

The Party of Labour of Albania has expressed and defended the interests not only of the working class, but also of the working peasantry and all the Albanian people united in the Democratic Front, while viewing these interests from the angle of socialism.

The PLA has always regarded the unity of the people in the Front as a unity of classes, strata and people who are linked by common interests and aims for one or more definite historical stages. This unity was created and strengthened in the war for freedom, national independence and socialism, in the irreconcilable struggle against internal and external class enemies.

On the one hand, the Party has combated sectarian manifestations, cases of confusing elements of the people with the enemies, of assessing non-antagonistic contradictions as antagonistic, of lack of patience to work with those who are politically unclear, etc. On the other hand, it has combated manifestations of opportunism — cases of lack of vigilance towards the class enemy or the softening of the class struggle in the ranks of the Front, the tendencies of opportunist elements to fail to safeguard the complete ideological, political and organizational independence of the Party in the Front, or its role as the sole leadership in it.

This struggle has been essential to the continuous preservation and strengthening of the unity of the people in the Front.

8.

The revolution in Albania triumphed by means of the people's armed uprising and is defended by the armed people.

In the concrete conditions, this uprising could not be an immediate outburst. The development of the uprising was a whole process, which began with anti-fascist

demonstrations and small fighting actions and was raised, step by step, to the general uprising of the people.

The organization of the armed uprising, aimed at raising the masses of the people in armed struggle, absolutely demanded the preparation of a people's national liberation army, which would be capable of defeating the enemy armed forces, destroying the state apparatus of the enemy, liberating the country from the occupiers, ensuring the establishment of the people's state power and becoming the defender of this state power. To fulfil such tasks it was absolutely necessary that this people's army should be organized as a regular people's army of the new Albanian state.

The armed uprising and the creation of the people's armed forces passed through three main stages:

In the first stage, the basis was laid for the general armed uprising and for the organization of the regular national liberation army. In this stage guerrilla units, regular partisan çetas and battalions and volunteer territorial self-defence units were set up, and the general moral-political preparation of the masses of the people for the armed uprising was carried out.

In the second stage, the war was turned into a general uprising of the people, the partisan çetas and battalions were organized in the centralized National Liberation Army, led by a general staff. The partisan brigades and groups were formed in this stage. The military administration in the rear was set up, too.

In the third stage, the people's general uprising led to the expulsion of the occupiers and the complete liberation of the country, to the wiping out of the reactionary organizations and armed forces, tools of the occupiers, to the complete destruction of the state apparatus of the occupiers and traitors. In this stage, the National Liberation Army as a whole was changed into the regular army of the Albanian people and the Albanian state of people's democracy.

The uprising found its inspiration and began in the cities.

As it extended and grew stronger, the centre of gravity passed to the countryside. The countryside became the main base of the uprising and the peasantry its main force. At the same time, the uprising as a whole was being extended and deepened in the cities, too.

The main form of the armed struggle was the partisan war. The partisan fighting actions were outstanding for their character of unceasing attacks, for their skilful use of manoeuvre with many rapid movements, for their use of surprise, for the great initiative of the commands at all levels, for their perfect exploitation of the terrain. The masterly use of the tactics of partisan warfare, the high morale of the fighters and the support and direct participation of the masses of people in the war neutralized and overcame the superiority of the enemy in numbers and, especially, in fighting equipment, ensured the preservation of the forces of the people's army, and a very high level of losses or the wiping out of its opponents.

The people's armed forces which, together with the insurgent people, ensured the victory of the revolution, served as a powerful and irreplaceable support for its triumphant and uninterrupted development in all fields, for the defence of their victories from the hostile aims and activities of the internal reactionary forces, the imperialists and the modern revisionists. The People's Army is one of the most important weapons of the dictatorship of the proletariat. The State Security organs are the vigilant eyes of this dictatorship.

With the consolidation and perfecting of the political power in the process of the socialist construction of the country, the armed forces improved their organization, armament and military equipment, their training and fighting and political capacities.

The socialist state and the people have spared nothing for the unceasing strengthening and modernization of the people's armed forces.

The PLA has shown continuing concern for the strengthening and preservation of the profoundly popular character of the armed forces, of their links with the people, their revolutionary tempering and the leadership of the armed forces by the Party. The regular armed forces are only a part of the armed people. The socialist Homeland is defended by the entire people who undergo military training for a people's war, the most reliable means to wipe out aggressors. The Party of Labour of Albania has fully applied the Marxist-Leninist principle of arming the people and giving them military training, making sure that the broad masses of the people are both the builders and defenders of socialism.

9.

The people's power in Albania was born in the war for national liberation as the dictatorship of the democratic revolutionary forces, whereas immediately after the liberation of the country it began to carry out the functions of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

It was established by smashing the political power of the occupiers, the landowners and the reactionary bourgeoisie to its very foundations. Before the country had been entirely liberated, the problem of the state power had been solved in favour of the revolutionary forces.

Evaluating the question of the political power as the fundamental problem of the revolution, the Party linked the war for national liberation closely with the seizure of power by the revolutionary masses of the people. Therefore, parallel with the extension and strengthening of the armed struggle, the people's power was built and strengthened on the ruins of the old state power. On its part, the new state power served as a reliable support for the people's armed uprising.

By launching the slogan «the national liberation councils — the only state power of the people in Albania,» the Party prepared the masses to completely destroy the state power of the occupiers and the traitors and to prevent the re-establishment of the old bourgeois-landowner state power. In this way the Party also ensured its undivided leadership in the new state power which it created. When the necessary conditions had been prepared, the Party immediately organized the formation of the new Albanian state of people's democracy with the revolutionary democratic government as the only government of the Albanian people, without waiting for the prior liberation of the entire country.

In accordance with the will of the broad masses of the people and not forgetting for one moment the perspective of the development of the national liberation revolution into the socialist revolution, the Party never shared the power with the bourgeoisie, but kept inviolate the leadership of the working class in the new political state power. It defeated the pressure which internal reaction and the US and British imperialists exerted during the war and in the early post-Liberation years, to bring representatives of the landowners and the reactionary bourgeoisie into the leadership of the people's power. It also defeated the treacherous stands of the opportunist elements in its own leadership, who surrendered to the enemy pressure and agreed to share power with the bourgeoisie.

The basic organs of the dictatorship of the proletariat are the people's councils, the direct continuers of the national liberation councils.

The dictatorship of the proletariat served, and still serves, as the decisive weapon

for the uninterrupted development of the socialist revolution in all fields and for the defence of its achievements. The socialist democracy, which has been continuously extended and consolidated, is realized by means of the dictatorship of the proletariat. It is also the means of ensuring that the working class, the cooperativist peasantry and the working people exercise power, both through the representative state organs and directly, and take part actively and extensively in running the country. A very important means of the participation of the masses in running the country is the direct worker and peasant control, which is exercised over everybody and everything, over all the activity of the state and economic organs, the administrative apparatus and the cadres. Like the dictatorship of the proletariat, as a whole, this control is guided by the proletarian ideology and policy of the Party. The foundation of the dictatorship of the proletariat is the alliance of the working class with the working peasantry, under the leadership of the working class. The Albanian peasantry has always looked on the dictatorship of the proletariat as its own state power, because this is the first and only state power which has fulfilled its age-old dreams and desires, which has ensured it liberty and the land, which has lifted it out of poverty and backwardness, and has guaranteed its rapid progress in all fields on the socialist road.

The PLA has fought consistently against any manifestation or tendency of opportunist elements for the liberalization of the state power, for turning it into «a democracy for all», as well as against the disease of bureaucracy.

This struggle has been essential to preserve the proletarian character of the people's state power, to avoid its becoming divorced from the masses of the people, and to prevent the bourgeois-revisionist degeneration of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The PLA regards the struggle against bureaucracy and liberalism as an aspect of the class struggle. As such, it will continue for as long as the class struggle goes on.

The dictatorship of the proletariat is also a decisive weapon in the hands of the Party, the working class and the other working masses for the complete construction of socialist and communist society. The PLA follows the course of the preservation, strengthening and continuous perfecting of the dictatorship of the proletariat until classes have completely disappeared and any external danger to communist society has been wiped out.

10.

In the economic field the revolution has achieved two main objectives. First, the economic base of the landowners and the bourgeoisie has been eliminated, private ownership of the means of production has been wiped out and replaced with socialist social ownership, both in town and countryside. Second, the economic backwardness and the one-sided structure of the economy, which consisted mainly of small-scale agricultural production, has been liquidated, and a new, multi-branched structure has been built, consisting of large-scale industrial and agricultural production, relying mainly on the use of modern technique.

For the establishment of socialist relations of production, the Party did not wait for the productive forces, which had remained backward, to be developed to a high level. It built these relations (first in the cities and later in the countryside) before the construction of an adequate material-technical base had been completed. Parallel with the development of the productive forces, the Party has continuously perfected the socialist relations of production in all fields — ownership, distribution,

circulation and the planned management of the economy, without allowing any great disparity to develop between them. Thus, the socialist relations of production have always served as a sound support and a powerful impulse for the development of the productive forces at rapid rates.

The remnants of feudal relations were wiped out by means of the Land Reform which expropriated the landowners without compensation and gave the land to the poor peasants.

Since this reform was carried out under the conditions of the development of the socialist revolution, it also affected the capitalist relations in the countryside.

By means of nationalization, the big and medium capitalist property in the city was liquidated and replaced by socialist social property. The form of state capitalism was not used.

The nationalization was carried out in a profoundly revolutionary way, based on expropriation without compensation.

The private property of the small-scale producers of the towns was changed into socialist property by means of the voluntary uniting of these producers in cooperatives of artisans which, in the long run, merged into state enterprises.

The private property of small-scale producers in the countryside was changed into cooperativist social property by means of the collectivization of agriculture. The collectivization was begun and completed without the prior nationalization of the land owned by the small producers and which, according to the law, they could not sell and buy, and without waiting for the prior industrialization of the country, but parallel with the rise and development of the new socialist industry. In the process of the collectivization of agriculture and the development of industry, the material-technical base of large-scale socialist production was created in the countryside, too, while the nationalization of the land was carried out de jure in the new Constitution of 1976.

The collectivization of agriculture was done on the basis of convincing the peasantry of the superiority of the socialist system of agriculture. With the help of the Party, it created this conviction from its own experience. The Party has always strictly applied the Leninist principle of the free will of the peasants to unite in cooperatives. The middle peasants, like the poor peasants, embraced the road of collectivization and entered the cooperatives en masse.

The only form which was used for the collectivization was the agricultural cooperative of production, based on social ownership of the means of production, work in common and the distribution of the product solely on the basis of the work done by each member of the cooperative.

The socialist industrialization of the country served as the main key to the development of the productive forces and the construction of a many-sided economy. Industrialization created real possibilities for the setting up and development of new branches of the economy, for the creation of an advanced, multi-branched agriculture and for its intensification.

In the socialist industrialization of the country, priority has always been given to the setting up and development of heavy industry. Consequently, the proportion of production of means of production has constantly increased. At the same time, special importance has been attached to the rapid development of light industry. The Party has also tried to ensure a harmonious development of industry and agriculture.

Only with the support of both legs — industry and agriculture, can the construction of a strong, stable and independent economy and its rapid and uninterrupted

development be assured.

The management of the economy and the socialist construction has been a democratic, centralized management on the basis of a unified, general state plan. The new multi-branched socialist economy has been built and developed and the material-technical base created, relying mainly on the internal human and financial resources, natural assets and other means. The Albanian people themselves, under the leadership of the revolutionary Party of the working class, have built this economy.

In this way, the PLA, by means of the dictatorship of the proletariat, has ensured: the transition of the country from a backward, semi-feudal situation directly to socialism, bypassing the phase of developed capitalism; the rapid-rate development of the people's economy on the road to socialism; the economic independence of the country as an indispensable factor for the preservation of its political independence.

11.

The PLA has closely linked the build-up and development of the socialist economy with the development of the people's culture, ensuring the uninterrupted development of a real cultural revolution.

The Party has regarded the development of culture and the cultural revolution, on the one hand, as part of the program of the development of the productive forces, and on the other hand, as part of the ideological revolution.

From the former standpoint, by means of its policy, revolutionary activity and the socialist state, the Party has achieved: the elimination of the cultural backwardness inherited from the past; the transformation of education and culture from a privilege for a minority of the well-to-do into an asset of the broad masses of the people; the training of an army of cadres and specialists of various profiles, with higher and secondary schooling, to fulfil all the needs of the economy, culture and state management; the educational and technical qualification of the masses of workers, farmers and office staff; the development of a profound technical-scientific revolution.

From the latter standpoint, the Party has established a progressive revolutionary educational system, science and culture with a proletarian, Marxist-Leninist content; it has trained cadres, specialists, workers and cooperativists with schooling, people of art and culture, loyal fighters in the service of the people, the revolution and communism.

The Albanian socialist culture embodies the harmonious combination of the national with the international, of the progressive tradition with the revolutionary new, while the proletarian ideology is always predominant in it.

12.

In working out its political line and in all its activity, the PLA has proceeded from the Marxist-Leninist principle that the class struggle is an objective law and the main motive force of society until classes disappear completely, in communism.

The consistent application of this principle has enabled the Party, at every stage of the revolution, to follow a correct line on the class struggle, as an organic part of its

general line and an indispensable condition for the uninterrupted development of the revolution, for the triumph of socialism over capitalism, for the defence of this victory and the achievement of still greater ones.

The class struggle includes the struggle of the people for the liberation of the country from the Italian and German fascist imperialists to win national independence and defend this independence against any expansionist and predatory imperialist ambitions; the struggle to wipe out the political domination of the landowners and the bourgeoisie, to establish, safeguard and strengthen the dictatorship of the proletariat:

the struggle to liquidate the economic base of feudalism and capitalism and for the construction, strengthening and development of the economic base of socialism; the struggle to defeat any resistance or hostile activity of the exploiting classes and for the elimination of these classes; the struggle against the remnants of these classes; the struggle against new capitalist elements; the struggle against traitors to the Party, socialism and the people; the struggle against reactionary, patriarchal, feudal and bourgeois concepts and outdated customs; the struggle against the petty-bourgeois psychology in regard to property, work and life style; the struggle against the ideological aggression from abroad and bourgeois and revisionist ideology in general; the struggle against the policy and activity of aggression, oppression and exploitation of the imperialists and social-imperialists; the struggle against modern revisionism and international reaction.

In order to follow a correct line in the class struggle, the definition of the main class enemies in one or other stage of the revolution is of great importance.

During the period of the Anti-fascist National Liberation War, the main enemies were the Italian and German fascists, therefore the main blow of the struggle was directed against them. In the conditions when the Party was pursuing the line of uniting the whole people in the National Liberation Front, without discrimination as to class and political conviction, it made many efforts to prevent the contradiction between the masses of the people and the landowners and the big bourgeoisie from being turned into a principal antagonistic contradiction.

However, the landowners and the reactionary bourgeoisie, with their political organizations — Balli Kombëtar and Legaliteti, regarded the Communist Party and the National Liberation Front as the main enemy. They opened armed struggle against the Party and the Front and tried to destroy them by uniting in a single front with the occupiers. In these circumstances, the Party and the Front were forced to fight and totally destroy the organizations and armed forces of internal reaction by the use of revolutionary violence. Thus, the war against the occupiers was interwoven with the struggle against the main local exploiting classes, tools of the Italian fascist and German nazi enslavers. As a consequence, the National Liberation War led not only to the liberation of the Homeland from the foreign invaders, but also to the overthrow of the main exploiting classes of the country and stripping them entirely of political power.

During the period of socialist construction, the main class enemies have been: inside the country — the overthrown exploiting classes, and after their elimination, the remnants of these classes and the traitors; outside the country — imperialism, headed by the US imperialists, and later, the Soviet and Chinese social-imperialists.

The PLA has fought modern revisionism, the offspring and agency of imperialism, with special severity. The irreconcilable principled struggle which it waged from the start against the Yugoslav revisionists equipped it with great revolutionary experience and the keenness of eye to be able to recognize and to fight more effectively and with greater determination against the Khrushchevite revisionists,

the Chinese revisionists and the other revisionist trends. International modern revisionism constitutes a savage enemy of the proletariat and the peoples, of the communist and liberation movement world-wide.

The PLA considers the struggle against revisionism in the ideological and political fields as an essential condition for success in the fight against imperialism and social-imperialism, to ensure the ultimate victory of the socialist revolution in Albania and on a world scale.

In the course of waging and leading the class struggle correctly, in all the stages of the revolution, against internal and external enemies of the people and socialism, the PLA has gained a high level of vigilance and tempering as a revolutionary party of the working class.

13.

The PLA has always worked and fought as a detachment of the international communist and worker movement.

By ensuring the victory of the revolution and the successful construction of socialism in its own country, it has, at the same time, carried out its fundamental internationalist duty to the proletariat and the world proletarian revolution.

In the struggle for national and social liberation and the socialist construction of the country, the PLA has never isolated itself from the world revolutionary movement.

On the contrary, it has always felt the need for the powerful support of this movement, has properly appreciated the importance of this support and has always relied on the help of the other Marxist-Leninist parties, the people's liberation movement, and especially on the assistance of the socialist countries, both in the war for national liberation and in the construction of socialism.

The PLA has educated the Albanian communists and the whole Albanian people in a profound spirit of proletarian internationalism.

The Great October Socialist Revolution has always been close and dear to the hearts of the Party of Labour and the working people of Albania.

The lessons from the October Revolution, the experience of the Third International, in general, and of the Bolshevik Party, in particular, have served to guide the Party of Labour of Albania and the Albanian working people on their revolutionary course and inspired them in the fight for freedom, independence and socialism.

In the hearts of the communists and the entire people, the PLA has implanted the feeling of sincere and ardent love for the proletariat, the peoples and all the revolutionary forces of the world.

The Albanian Party and people have nurtured boundless love and loyalty for the first socialist state, created by V.I. Lenin and J.V. Stalin, which emerged from the October Revolution.

This love and this loyalty have always been based on the principles of Marxism-Leninism. When the Khrushchevite revisionists emerged at the head of the Soviet Communist Party and the Soviet state, the PLA declared principled, uncompromising war on them, while coming out in defence of the glorious road of the Bolshevik Party and the Soviet peoples, in defence of J.V. Stalin and the lessons of October, which were trampled underfoot by the revisionists, and this it regarded as its internationalist duty.

In the context of the struggle in defence of Marxism-Leninism and socialism on an international scale, the PLA defended the CP and PR of China at the most difficult moments they have experienced, undaunted that by so doing it would draw upon

itself all the fury and fire of the US imperialists, the Soviet social-imperialists and modern revisionists. However, when the betrayal of the Chinese leaders, the bourgeois-revisionist character of their ideology and policy and their aim of turning China into a social-imperialist power became clear, the PLA did not hesitate to declare irreconcilable war on Chinese revisionism and social-imperialism, with the same determination as on Soviet revisionism and social-imperialism. With the Marxist-Leninist parties and the socialist states, the PLA has always pursued a policy of establishing and consolidating fraternal relations of sincere collaboration and aid for one another, on the basis of Marxism-Leninism, proletarian internationalism, and the struggle against imperialism and revisionism. The PLA has always expressed its solidarity with the revolutionary forces of the world. It has unreservedly supported the struggle of the world proletariat against capitalist oppression and exploitation, as well as the liberation struggle of the peoples against imperialism and reaction, regarding their struggle and victories as its own struggle and victories. With its principled, determined and consistent struggle against imperialism and modern revisionism, the PLA has defended Marxism-Leninism as the only scientific theory of the revolution and the construction of socialist and communist society; it has defended the socialist camp and the international communist movement from the aims and attempts of the imperialists and revisionists to split them and wipe them out. Following the split and bourgeois degeneration caused by the modern revisionists in the socialist countries and the communist and workers' parties, the PLA held high the banner of proletarian internationalism, fighting for the revival of the international communist movement on a revolutionary Marxist-Leninist basis, without revisionists and traitors and in irreconcilable struggle against them. It hailed the formation of new Marxist-Leninist parties in the upsurge of the struggle with the revisionists and showed itself ready to collaborate with them, on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and the independence of each party, for the achievement of this objective. At the same time, the PLA has followed a policy of collaboration between the new Albanian state and non-socialist states, irrespective of their political and social systems. In the relations of the Albanian socialist state with the other socialist or non-socialist states, the PLA has applied the revolutionary principle of respect for national sovereignty and has not permitted any external interference in its internal political, economic or military affairs.

14.

The application of the correct political line of the Party has been ensured by adhering to a correct organizational line, founded on the Marxist-Leninist principles and norms of the internal life of the revolutionary party of the working class.

The main characteristic of the internal life of the PLA is the revolutionary application of the Marxist-Leninist organizational principles and norms. In applying democratic centralism, which is the basic principle of the organizational structure of the Marxist-Leninist party, in a revolutionary manner, the PLA has always regarded the two aspects of this principle (centralism and democracy) as aspects complementing and not excluding each other. The integral combination of centralism with democracy in the internal life of the Party has protected it both from bureaucracy and from liberalism and has prevented it from turning into a bourgeois-

revisionist party.

Collective leadership and iron discipline are two of the main elements ensuring the application of democratic centralism.

The revolutionary application of collective leadership has ensured that: the decisions of the leading organs and the party organizations are the result of the collective opinion which is always the most profound, mature and correct opinion; the collective leadership, which is the most reliable leadership, is not weakened; the leadership does not become the monopoly of certain individuals or workers of the apparatuses, something which would threaten the Party with loss of its proletarian character.

The revolutionary application of the discipline in the Party has ensured that no party member, whatever his function in the Party, the state power, the economy or elsewhere, is absolved from this discipline, that each member renders account in the basic organization of the Party or the leading organ on his work and behaviour, on the fulfilment to the letter of the requirements of the Party Constitution and the tasks he has been charged with, that he is profoundly conscious of his responsibility as a party member and a communist cadre, that the party member is always an exemplary vanguard fighter.

The revolutionary application of the Marxist-Leninist principles and norms in increasing the ranks of the Party with new members has been of decisive importance. The requirement of the Constitution that any working man or woman who accepts the program and Constitution of the Party and who works actively to put them into practice, who takes part and works in one of the party organizations, carries out all the decisions of the Party and regularly pays membership dues can be a member of the PLA, as well as the orientation of the CC to give priority to the admission of workers to the Party — to increase its ranks with more working people from industrial and agricultural production, have never been applied mechanically or formally. While keeping in mind this requirement and orientation, the basic criterion for admission has always been the qualities of the communist as the person most pure morally, the most determined fighter for the cause of the people, the revolution and communism, proletarian in his thoughts and actions. This criterion has ensured that the very best of the best, the most progressive and determined revolutionaries are admitted to the Party. Anyone who joins the PLA understands clearly that membership of the Party does not ensure him more rights and privileges than the other working people, does not create conditions for his personal career, but on the contrary, increases his duties and calls for more work and sacrifices.

The PLA has always considered the example provided by the communist, as a vanguard fighter who matches his words with his deeds, who does not yield in the face of difficulties and obstacle, who is in the forefront of the struggle and work and is always just, honest, principled, progressive and courageous, as the main means by which to convince the masses of the correctness of its line, and to establish close links with them.

Just as it has been necessary for the Party to absorb fresh, healthy blood to ensure that it remains a proletarian party of revolutionary action, so it has been necessary also for it to purge itself of all those who have lost their qualities as vanguard fighters in the course of the revolutionary struggle.

The Party has not allowed opportunist leniency, liberalism and sentimentality to influence the implementation of this law, as V. I. Lenin described such a purging of the party of the working class. At the same time, the Party has not permitted hasty decisions or sectarianism in this direction. Its steps have always been prudent.

One of the most outstanding features of the PLA has been its monolithic ideological, organizational and political unity.

It has forged and safeguarded this unity in irreconcilable struggle against opportunism and sectarianism, against factions and all internal enemies of the Party.

After the defeat of the liquidationist Trotskyite trend in the first months of its existence, the views and activity of the antiparty groups and elements have never, at any time, succeeded in becoming anti-Marxist ideological trends within the ranks of the Party. This is because they have been discovered in time and combated from revolutionary positions, and because of the loyalty of the communists to Marxism-Leninism and the line of the Party.

To preserve its unity and the correctness of its general line, during the whole of its existence the PLA has waged a struggle on two fronts: against right opportunism and against sectarianism and dogmatism.

Until the spring of 1943 the main danger for the PLA was sectarianism. The roots of this danger were: the marked sectarian spirit which characterized the activity of the communist groups and which, with the uniting of the groups, had penetrated the ranks of the Party; the difficulty which the former members of the groups had in understanding the general line of the Party regarding the Anti-fascist National Liberation War.

From the spring of 1943 until the end of the war, as well as during the whole period following Liberation, the main danger for the PLA has been right opportunism.

During the National Liberation War the roots of right opportunism were: the pressure on the Party from the reactionary bourgeoisie outside the Front and the middle bourgeoisie inside the Front; the pressure of British-US imperialist reaction which aimed to prevent the victory of the revolutionary forces led by the Party.

After Liberation, the roots of opportunism were: the pressure on the Party from the remnants of the overthrown classes and the kulaks outside the Front; the pressure of the petty bourgeoisie, especially the masses of the peasantry inside the Front, over some problems of the economic policy of the Party in the countryside; imperialist pressure for the overthrow of the people's state power; the pressure of bourgeois and revisionist ideology from abroad; the pressure of old customs, reactionary ideologies, and the religious prejudices within the country.

Another source of the danger of opportunism during the whole existence of the Party has been the petty-bourgeois origin of many of its members, the insufficient ideological training of a great number of communists.

Although sectarianism and dogmatism have not constituted any great danger to the line of the Party after Liberation manifestations of them have been apparent in the activity of some communists in various economic, political and ideological problems.

The manifestations of sectarianism have had their roots mainly in the narrow outlook and conceit of a number of communists of petty-bourgeois, peasant or artisan origin.

The source of manifestations of dogmatism has been in the borrowing of the experience of other countries without adapting it to the internal conditions and without a critical examination; in the insufficient theoretical preparation and the low educational level of a good number of the communists.

The struggle which the PLA has waged against opportunism, sectarianism and dogmatism, against all alien manifestations, against anti-party groups and elements, has always been a profoundly principled struggle permeated by Marxist-Leninist partisanship. In this struggle the Party has always displayed a prudent and moderate attitude towards those communists who have recognized their mistakes. At the same time, it has been stern and merciless with the enemies of Marxism-Leninism, with deserters and splitters of its unity.

The PLA has always seen the struggle against opportunism, sectarianism, against all alien manifestations within its ranks, as an aspect, a reflection of the class struggle being waged within the country. The Party considers the waging of the irreconcilable, principled struggle against opportunism, sectarianism and factions within its ranks as an essential condition for the preservation of its proletarian character and for the complete construction of socialist and communist society. This struggle will continue during the entire period of the existence of the Party, because for the whole period of the transition from socialism to communism and so long as capitalism has not been defeated on a world scale, the tendency to the birth of revisionism remains an objective danger.

16.

Since its founding, the PLA has continuously devoted the greatest care to the unity of its own leadership on Marxist-Leninist foundations.

This it has considered to be the primary, indispensable condition for ensuring the ideological and organizational unity of the whole Party, for working out a correct revolutionary line and putting it into practice.

In order to eliminate the PLA or to turn it into a bourgeois-revisionist party, the class enemies have always begun their destructive work with efforts to create opposing trends or to sow divisions within its leadership. But in the long run, these efforts have always been defeated as a result of the struggle against factionalism and against permitting the coexistence of opposing views, against opportunism and sectarianism.

Whenever it has happened that various leaders have infringed the norms and principles of the Party, it has patiently helped them to correct themselves and put them back on the right road. But whenever it has been proved that this or that leader has capitulated in the face of difficulties or the pressure of the class enemies and has deviated from Marxism-Leninism, or, even worse, has turned into an agent of the bourgeoisie and the revisionists, then the Party has expelled him from the leadership without hesitation, regardless of his former merits.

What is important is that the struggle against anti-party elements and groups in the ranks of the Central Committee and the Party has always been a principled struggle; this struggle has never been allowed to degenerate into a struggle of individuals for power, as occurs in the revisionist parties. This struggle has not been waged only by the Central Committee and the Party, but by the entire people who have always had their say and helped the Party to expose and defeat the anti-Marxist views and activity of one or the other traitor or enemy group.

The leaders of the Party and the state have played a major role in achieving the victories in the people's revolution and the socialist construction. They have emerged from the ranks of the people, have been trained and tempered as political leaders and organizers of the masses in the revolutionary struggle.

With their wisdom, self-sacrifice and consistent loyalty to the cause of the people

and communism, with the aid and support of the Party and the masses of the people, they have won high authority, great experience of political leadership, and the love and esteem of the people.

Outstanding among the leaders is Comrade Enver Hoxha.

He is the founder of the PLA and has led it from the time it was formed through all the historical stages of the revolution.

He has made the greatest contribution to working out its Marxist-Leninist revolutionary line. With his wisdom, determination, foresight and revolutionary courage, Comrade Enver Hoxha has ensured the consistent, revolutionary implementation of the Marxist-Leninist line and norms of the Party, has never allowed it to be diverted on to blind alleys and has brought it triumphant through all the difficult and complicated situations. In his works, Comrade Enver Hoxha has made a Marxist-Leninist theoretical summing-up of the revolutionary experience of the PLA, thus making an invaluable contribution to the treasury of Marxism-Leninism.

Enver Hoxha is the most beloved teacher and leader of the whole Albanian people, united in steel-like unity around the Party and its Central Committee.

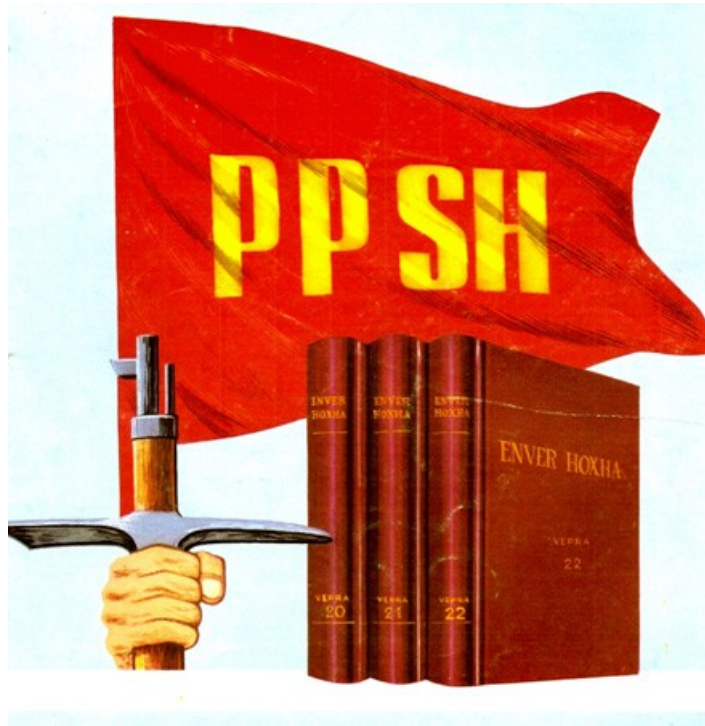
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The History of the Party of Labour of Albania reflects the linking and enrichment of the Marxist-Leninist theory with the practice of the revolutionary struggle of the Party of the working class and the masses of the working people in Albania.

It is evidence of the colossal force of Marxism-Leninism to inspire, move and transform, when it is applied faithfully and in a creative manner by a revolutionary party of the working class. It proves that the faithful application of Marxism-Leninism in the conditions of each country leads to certain victory.

The great experience which the PLA has accumulated, the tempering and maturity which it has gained on its glorious course, assist it to continue on a correct Marxist-Leninist revolutionary line in the future and to lead the Albanian people to the final victory of socialism and communism.

LONG LIVE HOXHAISM !



"Marxism-Leninism is the triumphant ideology.

He who embraces, defends and develops it, is a member of the glorious army of the revolution, of that great and invincible army of genuine communists, who are leading the proletariat and all the oppressed to transform the world, to destroy capitalism and to build the new world, the socialist world"

(Enver Hoxha, "Imperialism and Revolution", Tirana 1979).



"NO FORCE, NO TORTURE, NO INTRIGUE,
NO DECEPTION CAN ERADICATE
MARXISM-LENINISM FROM THE MINDS AND
HEARTS OF MEN"

Enver Hoxha

for further studies we recommend the articles:



Enver Hoxha

– the 5th Architect of Marxism-Leninism and
the re-foundation of the Comintern



Enver Hoxha

- standard bearer of today's world communism in the revolutionary, militant spirit of the Comintern of Lenin and Stalin
- greatest fighter of proletarian internationalism against modern revisionism.

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